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CANADIANS IN BOSNIA

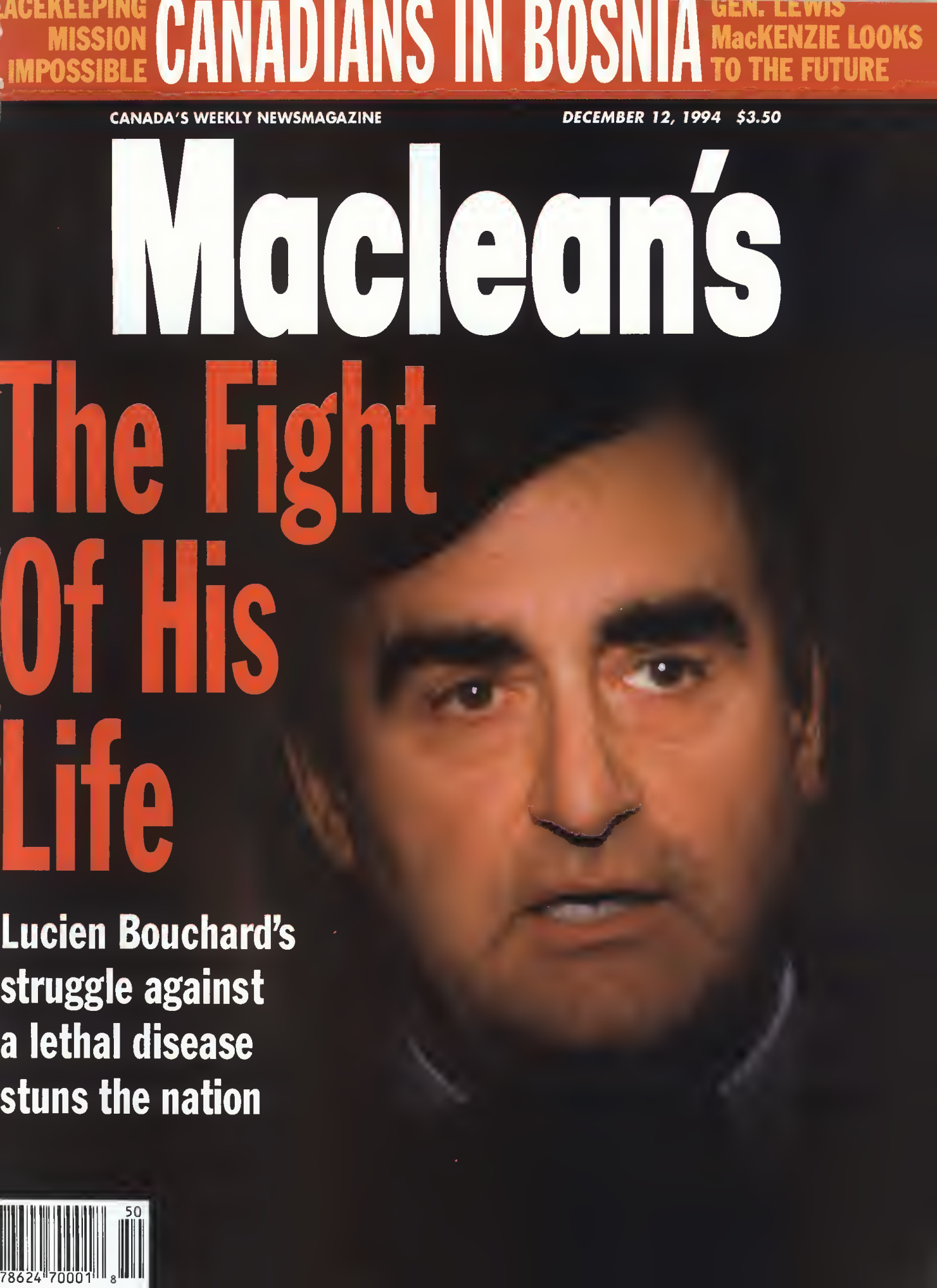
GEN. LEWIS MacKENZIE LOOKS TO THE FUTURE

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

DECEMBER 12, 1994 $3.50

Maclean's

The Fight Of His Life



Lucien Bouchard's struggle against a lethal disease stuns the nation

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DECEMBER 12 1994 VOL.107 NO 50

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PHOTOGRAPH BY TOM HANSEN/CANAPRESS

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PAUL CHIASSON/CANAPRESS

The fight of his life

14 Lucien Bouchard's battle against a bizarre and potentially deadly disease shocked the nation. Doctors amputated the Bloc Québécois leader's left leg to save his life, but said he may be back at work within three to four months. Bouchard's courageous struggle could even enhance his status in Quebec before next year's referendum on sovereignty.



CHRIS HELGREN/REUTER

Mission impossible

28 As the UN mission in Bosnia falters, morale is suffering among Canadian peacekeepers, former Maj.-Gen. Lewis MacKenzie analyzes how the mission disintegrated, and reviews the options facing the United Nations—and Bosnia's belligerents.

Corporate culture club

42 A growing number of Canadian companies are responding to changes in the economy by rethinking the role and the responsibilities of employees. By empowering workers to make decisions and to work more closely with management, they are hoping to improve quality, service—and profitability.



CHRIS SCHWARTZ/MACLEAN'S



Heart And Soul

Somehow, it all seemed so trivial the fight over new gun control measures, the new white paper on the armed forces, the dispute about the Hibernia project. Stunned and shocked, a nation learned that a horrible, little-understood muscle-eating disease—necrotizing myositis—had caused the leader of the Opposition, Lucien Bouchard, to engage in the true fight of his life.

Even ardent political foes expressed their concern. In Ottawa, the Liberal government offered to suspend Commons activities for the day, but Bouchard's Bloc Quebecois decided to honor him by going on with the show. Former prime minister Brian Mulroney, who has rebuffed Bouchard's various attempts at a rapprochement since their bitter 1990 split over the Meech Lake constitutional accord when Bouchard was a member of the government, sent a handwritten note to the hospital, conveying prayers and best wishes. And throughout Quebec, there was, at first, the sense of an unfolding family tragedy. Then, on the morrow, there was a lifting of spirits at reports that Bouchard was out of danger after the amputation of his left leg and the removal of tissue in his abdomen and chest appeared to spike the spread of poisons in his system.

In a society as intimate and cohesive as French Quebec, the overnight vigil for Bouchard Thursday—complete with a supporter who brandished a Quebec fleur-de-lys flag outside Hôpital Saint-Luc—had the air that marked similar events in the past: the illnesses of several premiers, including Daniel Johnson, the father of the current Liberal opposition leader, who died in office in 1968, and of former Liberal leader Robert Bourassa, whose battle with lethal skin cancer caused him to leave office in September, 1993. The sombre tones of the TV announcers, the anguished faces and the sheer emotion on the streets created an air of crisis: the kind of atmosphere that attended the murder of cabinet minister Pierre Laporte in 1970, Premier Rene Lévesque's traffic accident that killed a Montrealer in 1977, the unexpected death of Union Nationale premier Paul Sauvé in 1960, after less than four months in office—an event that ultimately paved the way for the election of Jean Lesage's Liberals and the start of the Quiet Revolution.



MARC PICHER

Bouchard on Parliament Hill: formidable

What is it about Quebec and its political heroes? Where else in Canada have so many provincial leaders tempted fate and faced such tragedy? Are they, like Icarus, destined to fly too close to the sun on their wings of wax? Or, more likely, so passionate about the cause as to treat themselves unkindly? If Bouchard has not yet been elevated to mythic status, he certainly dominated the political landscape like few others. In Ottawa, he is the Bloc Québécois. For the separatists, he is the heart and soul of their movement, in a way that patrician Parti Québécois Premier Jacques Parizeau could never be. Even to his opponents, he was a formidable adversary, one capable of the most calculating and ruthless political acts but also quick with the warm, personal gesture. Last Thursday, three operations down and one still to go, Dr. Patrick D'Amico, Bouchard's physician, said it best at a news conference in Montreal: "Being able to say he is alive is very gratifying to us."

Robert Lewis

Maclean's
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THE FITNESS FRAGRANCE BY RALPH LAUREN



LETTERS

Back to school

Reading Deirdre McMurdy's denigrating characterization of young university men and women involved in a democratic protest on Parliament Hill ("Learning to listen," The Bottom Line, Nov. 28), I was left to wonder if she had ever attended an economics class. Perhaps then she would be familiar with classic concepts of capital investment. Ottawa is not sending young adults to a day care, it is putting money into the greater education of students today so that our economy can benefit from the improved knowledge of its laborers tomorrow. Capital formation through education will provide young Canadians with the means to compete in a freer economy and make the payments on a rising debt inherited from McMurdy's generation.

Brendan Hemens
Toronto

According to many experts, our huge debt is largely caused by tax loopholes to corporations and high interest rates. Deirdre McMurdy should aim her scorn and criticism at government policies, not university students. I'd much rather subsidize students than directors of corporations.

Wilf Hughes,
Peterborough, Ont.

Authorized version

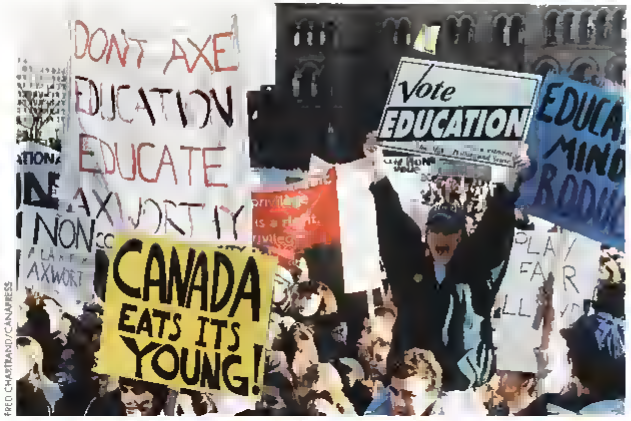
Your review of Anne Kingston's *The Edible Man*, about supermarket marketer Dave Nichol ("Smorgas-lord," Books, Nov. 28) refers to the book as an "authorized biography." This is not the case. Ms. Kingston had Mr. Nichol's co-operation in the preparation of the book, but he did not see the final work, nor know any details of its contents, until it was published in book form in October. A second point concerns your statement that Dave Nichol "now has a loose association with" Cott Corp. Mr. Nichol has had a very close association with Cott for some time and was named its president in October.

Jan Walter,
President, Macfarlane Walter & Ross,
Toronto

'Living love'

I am a 48-year-old man with two children and cancer, both of which have a way of sharpening one's priorities. Right now, I'm preparing myself for the operation that will tell me if I have a future watching my beautiful children grow up. I am in awe of the unbelievable act that Robert Latimer performed in sacrificing his need for the living love of his daughter to the need to end her suffering ("What would you do?" Cover, Nov. 28). I thank whatever guides our crazy world that I don't have to make this choice and that it's me on the block instead.

Patrick Conroy,
Richmond, B.C.



FRED CHARTRAND/CANAPRESS

Students protesting on Parliament Hill: economy will benefit tomorrow

The question in my case is, "What *did* I do?"—for my son, like Tracy Latimer, was also born with cerebral palsy. What I did was love him, support him and encourage him to be all that he could be. I held his hand when he twice went through the surgery Tracy was facing. I took him to see Santa with his legs encased in plaster. Many times I asked "Why me, why Scott?"—but never, ever did I even consider taking his life. (Scott is now 21 and living in a specially designed apartment, where a helper visits him daily.)

Sandi Johnson,
Guelph, Ont.

It seems to me that as a father you are aware of your children's needs and desires—but, more important, their nuances. Third-party diagnoses, whether they be in the medical, legal or other professions, are often irrelevant. I cannot see a truly loving parent as Robert Latimer callously depriving his child of the gift of life unless doing so brought her greater peace.

Valdis Grasis,
Sudbury, Ont.

By applying laws designed to punish criminals—those who premeditatedly perpetrate criminal acts—we subject loving and caring parents to further hell. Given Tracy Latimer's inability to speak for herself, who better to make the judgment on whether her so-called life is worth enduring than her parents?

Dave Tizzard
Corner Brook, Nfld.

I have born and looked after a child equally as disabled as Robert Latimer's—but *at no time* did my husband or I ever consider taking the child's life, because we felt we had no right to make that decision. Along with four other children, we looked after and cared for him until he died at age 6 from a seizure. I have to say without reservation that Latimer has done the wrong thing and must be punished accordingly if justice is to be done.

Josephine Martin,
Nepean, Ont.

Honorable mention

I should like to submit the names of Philip Paterson and Guy Banville, workers for CARE Canada in Kenya, for inclusion in this year's *Maclean's* Honor Roll. When the refugee situation in Rwanda exploded, these two were among the very first Canadians to be rushed to Goma where, heedless of personal danger, they displayed compassion and leadership in alleviating, in very difficult conditions, the horror of the refugee camp. They are, indeed, Canadians who made a difference.

E. M. Paterson,
Dundas, Ont.

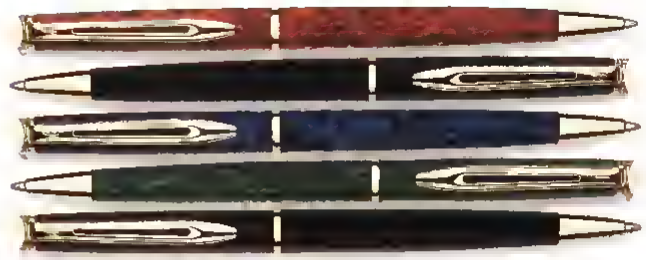
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The McCooeys



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Healthy Bites

The Primordial Sea Was an Ocean of Milk



In India, many vegetarian Hindus depend on the milk of their sacred cows

In Hindu mythology, before the world, there existed a vast ocean of milk. Gods and demons churned the milk to spew out the elements of creation.

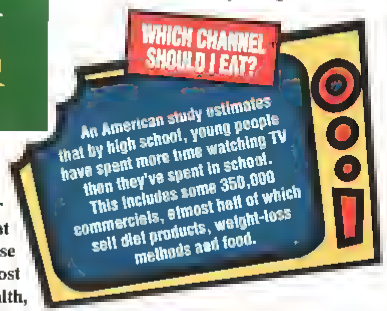
Hindu vegetarianism does not exclude consumption of milk products. Milk products, the sacred issue of the sacred cow, are also integral to many Hindu ceremonies. Among the Tamils, consumption of milk products is central to the celebration of the winter solstice.

Soft Drinks and Tough BREAKS

Has your daughter broken a bone recently? Perhaps she's drinking too many beverages that aren't milk. A 1994 Harvard School of Public Health study concluded that there is a strong association between cola consumption and bone fractures among girls. This reaffirmed the results of an earlier study done on adult women. It also showed that a high calcium diet was protective.

The best advice is to encourage moderation in soft drink consumption and make sure that young people consume the 3-4 servings of milk products a day recommended by Canada's Food Guide to Healthy Eating.

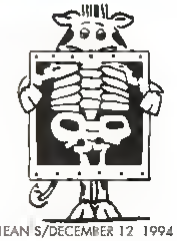
A Healthy Laugh



Are you among the "worried well"? Although North Americans are living longer and in better health than at any time in history, the sense of well-being, one of the most precious aspects of good health, is escaping us. Many of us are up-tight, ill at ease and out of sorts - all about the issue of our health.

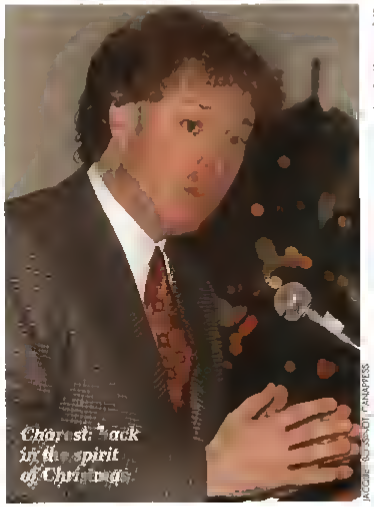
As Benjamin Franklin once said, "Nothing is more fatal to health than the over care of it". Laughter is great medicine. It's even good aerobic exercise: 100 good laughs are considered the equivalent of 10 minutes of rowing.

D Inside Story!



From the Dairy Bureau of Canada

OPENING NOTES



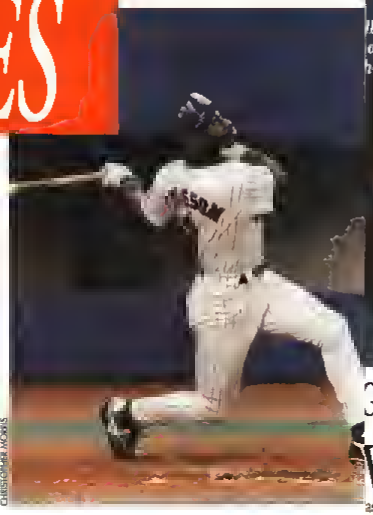
Chorist: "back in the spirit of Christmas"

JACQUES BOISSINOT/CANAPRESS

YES, VIRGINIA, THERE ARE TORIES

Once upon a time, the federal Conservatives held the Christmas party of the year. During his decade as prime minister, Brian Mulroney threw lavish bashes every December, with as many as 1,500 loyal Tories jamming Ottawa's Congress Centre to imbibe the holiday spirit. Then, the Grinch—aka last year's federal election, which left the party with just two seats in the House—stole the Tories' Christmas cheer. The 1993 get-together was a much smaller affair, to say the least: only a handful of the despondent faithful showed up.

Now, however, the Yuletide spirit seems alive and well in the much-diminished Progressive Conservative Party of Canada. National director Michael Allen says that the party had planned a suitably humble affair this year, with only about 300 people expected to attend the Dec. 12 event in the Hall of Honor of the House of Commons. But as of last week, fully 690 Tory partiers had confirmed their attendance, and Allen says that "there seems to be no ebb in sight." The onslaught of Tory blue to the Yuletide plate has led the party to table a revised seating plan with the House of Commons, taking the overflow into "every nook and cranny and hallway up to just over 750 people," says Allen. "It's grown to quite grand proportions, there's no doubt." Among the big names coming to the bash will be party leader Jean Charest, former leader Robert Stanfield and ex-cabinet ministers Doug Lewis and Paul Dick, as well as former Commons speaker John Bosley. One of three PC prime ministers, Joe Clark has said that he, unhappily, cannot attend, while the two others, Mulroney and Kim Campbell, had not responded to their invitations. But even without them, it promises to be a true, blue Christmas—once again—in Ottawa.



CHRISTOPHER MORRIS



...ker; Grissom (left): ...am brochure omits ...h-priced help

CHRISTOPHER MORRIS

GOING, GOING, GONE?

The only question is, which ones? An answer may lie in the Expos' 1995 season-ticket brochure, which the team issued in November. Among the player photographs, three are notable by their *absence*: outfielder and free agent Larry Walker (1994 salary: $5,535,000), centre fielder Marquis Grissom ($4,900,000) and ace relief pitcher John Wetteland ($3,060,000)—three of the highest-paid Expos and much-rumored candidates for heading elsewhere. Hint, hint? Expos director of media relations Richard Griffin says no. Excluding the pricey trio was "not a baseball decision," he says. "It was a marketing decision." And the marketing strategy that went into the brochure was "the best is yet to come," emphasizing the Expos' crop of such hot youngsters as Rondell White and Cliff Floyd. Given that those players' 1994 salaries were $154,000 and $150,000, respectively, fans may still wish to draw their own conclusions. But Griffin offers a caveat. On the cover of the 1994 brochure, issued in late 1993, the club featured star infielder Delino DeShields. "He was traded early in the new year," Griffin notes. "And people talked about that, too."

AS SAFETY DOES

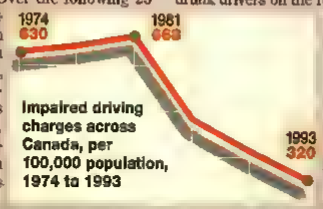
For 77 years, the Workers' Compensation Board of British Columbia has been imposing safety standards on workplaces across the province. Recently, the board—for the first time in its history—decided to look inward. And it did not like what it saw. An inspection of the WCB's head office in the Vancouver suburb of Richmond found 46 violations of its own safety standards. Those included expired fire extinguishers, use of a flammable chemical for cleaning, defective ladders, carpeting and electric cables that presented tripping hazards, and failure to maintain a safety plan for employees. At the nearby rehabilitation centre, inspectors found that the board had failed to provide "proper procedure for the training of area staff committees." Board official Hugh Legg says that the WCB has taken measures to redress the violations, adding "it's basically an assertion that we are going to walk the walk and talk the talk." Carefully.



...A SOBERING ...NNIVERSARY

Toronto spot-check: a sharp decrease

Maybe people are getting the point. On Dec. 1, 1969, the federal government implemented a law that required all suspected drunk drivers to undergo breathalyser tests. Over the following 25 ...ars, while police attention to the problem ...s increased through ...ot-check programs, ...e rate of impaired-...iving offences has ...arply decreased. ...ttressed by Bill C- ...f in 1985, which ...ughened sentences ...and broadened Criminal Code offences for impaired driving, the trend towards fewer drunk drivers on the roads seems to be continuing still. Last year, for instance, 117,567 impaired-driving incidents were reported by police across Canada, compared with 132,377 in 1992—an 11-per-cent decline.



ANDREW JOHNS/CANADA WIDE

Edited by JOE CHIDLEY

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. **Politically Correct Bedtime Stories,** *James Finn Garner (2)*
2. **The Celestine Prophecy,** *James Redfield (1)*
3. **Open Secrets,** *Alice Munro (4)*
4. **A Discovery of Strangers,** *Rudy Wiebe (3)*
5. **Winter,** *Pierre Berton*
6. **The Cunning Man,** *Robertson Davies (5)*
6. **Original Sin,** *P. D. James (6)*
7. **Wings,** *Danielle Steel*
8. **Lord of Chaos,** *Robert Jordan (9)*
9. **A Son of the Circus,** *John Irving (8)*
10. **Tattoo,** *Anne Rice (10)*

NONFICTION

1. **On the Take,** *Stevie Cameron (1)*
2. **Crossing the Threshold of Hope,** *Pope John Paul II (2)*
3. **Riel,** *Maggie Siggins (7)*
4. **The Hot Zone,** *Richard Preston (5)*
5. **Winter,** *Pierre Berton*
6. **Trudeau and Our Times, Vol. 2,** *Christina McCall and Stephen Clarkson (9)*
7. **Jean Béliveau: My Life in Hockey,** *Jean Béliveau*
8. **Couplehood,** *Paul Reiser (4)*
9. **The Prince of Wales,** *Jonathan Dimbleby (3)*
10. **Winnie-the-Pooh on Management,** *Roger E. Allen*

( ) *Position last week*

Compiled by Brian Bethune

POP MOVIES

Top movies in Canada, ranked according to box-office receipts during the seven days that ended on Dec. 1 (in brackets: number of screens/weeks showing)

1. **Star Trek Generations** (140/2) $1,373,100
2. **The Santa Clause** (123/3) $1,229,900
3. **Interview with the Vampire** (129/3) $774,400
4. **Junior** (95/2) $895,200
5. **The Lion King** (91/2) $503,900
6. **Stargate** (88/5) $388,000
7. **The Professional** (50/2) $303,300
8. **Pulp Fiction** (58/7) $297,400
9. **A Low Down Dirty Shame** (41/1) $224,700
10. **The Pagemaster** (74/1) $172,600

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PASSAGES

KILLED: Savage mass-murderer **Jeffrey Dahmer,** 34, from massive head injuries suffered in an apparent beating with a broom handle, in a maximum-security prison near Madison, Wis., where he was serving a life sentence. Dahmer and another inmate died after being found injured in the prison's bathroom area where they had been working unattended. Police said six people, including two prison guards, are being investigated in connection with the killing. Over a 13-year period ending with his arrest in 1991, Dahmer lured at least 16 boys and young men to his dingy Milwaukee apartment with promises of money and drink. He drugged them, stabbed them to death, had sex with their bodies, then dismembered them and ate some of their body parts.



POOL/REUTER

DIED: Former 1960s radical, turned 1980s respectable businessman, **Jerry Rubin,** 56, who used to warn, "Don't trust anyone over 30", in a Los Angeles hospital, from injuries suffered when he was struck by a car. As a member of the Chicago Seven, Rubin was convicted—later overturned on appeal—of inciting violent demonstrations outside the 1968 Democratic presidential nomination convention.

RECOVERING: Former U.S. vice-president **Dan Quayle,** 47, from a blood clot in the right lung in an Indianapolis hospital. Quayle was admitted to hospital with shortness of breath just weeks before he was expected to announce his candidacy for the 1996 Republican presidential nomination. Doctors say he will make a complete recovery.

APPOINTED: Rona Maynard, 45, editor of *Chatelaine,* Canada's widest-read women's magazine, by publisher **Lee Simpson.** Previously one of the magazine's two executive editors, Maynard has worked in magazine journalism for 18 years as a writer and editor.

SEPARATING: Supermodel **Cindy Crawford,** 28, and actor **Richard Gere,** 45, after three years of marriage and almost constant rumors of its imminent breakup.

CONVICTED: "Gangsta" rapper **Tupac Shakur,** 23, of sexual abuse in an incident involving a 20-year-old female fan and other members of his entourage, after a one-month jury trial, in New York City. When the verdict was reached, Shakur—who faces a possible prison sentence of up to seven years—was recovering from gunshot wounds sustained while trying to resist a robbery.



COLUMN



One woman's battle with the CLC

BY DIANE FRANCIS

A B.C. teacher, fired in 1990 for refusing to join the union, fights an uphill battle for her right to freedom of association

Special-education teacher Norma Janzen of British Columbia has just been deprived of her constitutional rights in a landmark case that again proves how dangerous this country's unions have become. The Supreme Court of Canada refused to hear an appeal by Janzen, who is trying to fend off the Canadian Labour Congress's attempt to make her case too expensive for her to pursue. The CLC succeeded and, while unreported in the country's newspapers, the fact is that the court's decision—making her potentially liable for huge CLC legal costs—has profound implications for Canadians because it has removed an individual's ability to fight for the right of freedom of association contained in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

"I was disappointed, but not surprised," said Janzen. "I think it is a given that an individual cannot stand up against big unions or big government—not in our society."

Janzen, who has more than 20 years' experience in teaching, was fired from her job in the Langley, B.C., public school system in 1990 because she would not join a teachers' federation, as required by the collective agreement between her union and her employer, a contract stipulation permitted by provincial edict. Under the Rand Formula, devised in 1946 by Supreme Court Justice Ivan Rand and used as the basis of union contracts ever since, Canadian workers have the right not to join a union in their workplace, but they still must support an existing union financially. Unfortunately, B.C. permits contracts making union membership compulsory, which obviously violated her charter rights.

She pursued justice. Unable to afford the legal fees required to sue the B.C. government over its unfair law, or to sue her former union personally, she hunted for backers. Canada's civil rights conscience, the National Citizens' Coalition, agreed to pay her costs, and Vancouver lawyer Don Jordan took her case on a *pro bono* (no fee) basis. Last year, she launched her charter challenge.

Enter Goliath: the rich and powerful Canadian Labour Congress, headed by Bob White. Goliath made an application to court to be granted "intervenor" status, which gives the right to attend hearings and present arguments. Janzen and her lawyer had no objection, providing that the CLC would not have any "right" to claim its costs against Janzen.

The CLC's high-priced lawyers balked, arguing successfully in the B.C. Supreme Court and Appeal Court that not only should the CLC be able to intervene, but it should also have the right to be awarded costs by a trial judge. This meant that the CLC could spend as much as it wanted researching its case—hundreds of thousands of dollars is not uncommon—knowing it may be able to pass along much of the bill to a relatively powerless, middle-class schoolteacher and her donors. That raised the spectre of financial ruin for Janzen, who now runs her own private tutoring service for children with special needs.

"The charter for people like Norma Janzen is a hoax," said her lawyer Don Jordan. "If an individual is faced with the possibility of paying costs not just for opponents but for any intervenor, it means someone like Norma Janzen either finds some interest group to fund her or she effectively has no charter rights."

Janzen, Jordan and the Coalition were wise to the CLC's tactics because of another Coalition-sponsored case involving Merv Lavigne, a Haileybury, Ont., teacher who lost at the Supreme Court of Canada on a charter challenge. Lavigne was merely asking for the right to earmark the political-support portion of his union dues to political causes of his own choice, not automatically to the union's traditional allies, the New Democratic Party. He lost, and the CLC and other intervenor parties were awarded costs. They presented Lavigne and the Coalition with a bill of $1 million. "It was an unprecedented, punitive and vindictive cost award," said National Citizens' Coalition president David Somerville. "We ended up settling for $350,000 plus we had to pay our own legal costs of $500,000. We and Norma Janzen could both face bankruptcy by the CLC."

Janzen and her supporters are exploring various options, including raising enough money to pursue the dismissal case even if the trial judge ends up awarding huge costs to the CLC. Another option, in a perfect world, would be to appeal to B.C. Attorney General Colin Gabelmann to amend the Supreme Court rules to state that intervenors are not entitled to costs—assuming he agreed that Janzen's constitutional rights have been frustrated. But the world is far from perfect, and the sitting government in British Columbia is Canada's labor party, the New Democrats, which relies on help from the CLC. The attorney general is not likely to support Norma Janzen's cause over Bob White's.

A third possibility is Ottawa's new Court Challenges Program, a $2.3-million kitty to be handed out for legal fees to persons challenging the government's own laws. Somerville is dead-set against this option. "We wouldn't take it. It's wrong," he said. "Somebody with a legitimate grievance should be able to rally enough support to carry litigation through. We shouldn't force other Canadians to pay for Norma Janzen's day in court through their taxes."

Her lawyer is not certain whether the Court Challenges Program covers cost awards to intervenors in any case. "It's just wrong when interest groups—permitted to intervene in order to assist the court because the court wishes to canvass the widest range of views—deprive the individual of their charter rights," said Jordan.

Clearly, the CLC is out of line on this case, as it was involving Lavigne. Clearly, the courts are out of line, too, if they are making decisions about costs without consideration of the consequences to an individual of such decisions.

Unions in this country collect $1 billion in dues a year—a form of involuntary taxation imposed on one out of every three workers, thanks to unfair closed-shop rules in Canada. Unions often spend this money wisely, but it appears that they are also spending it abusing the civil rights of the very working people, such as Norma Janzen or Merv Lavigne, that they claim to represent and protect.

THE FIGHT OF HIS LIFE

Bouchard's brush with death might enhance his status

BY BARRY CAME

In a terrifying ordeal, it may well have been the most difficult moment of all. It came late last Wednesday evening, when Lucien Bouchard confronted a stark choice. The doctors had gathered in his private room in the intensive care unit on the fourth floor of Montreal's Saint-Luc Hospital to tell the Bloc Québécois leader that he was in imminent danger of losing his battle with the ferocious bacteria that was rapidly devouring the muscle and flesh of his left leg. In order to halt the rampaging microbes from swarming upward into his abdomen and chest, the doctors told Bouchard that they needed permission to slice off his ravaged leg. "He seemed stunned for a few seconds," recalled Saint-Luc's chief internist, Dr. Patrick D'Amico, as he recounted the harrowing incident. "After that, he turned to his wife and they both mentioned to me that Monsieur Bouchard's life was more important than his leg."

Within minutes, Bouchard was wheeled out of his room and down the corridor to the hospital's operating theatre. By the early hours of the following morning, the diseased leg had been removed, amputated at mid-thigh. It was, according to Saint-Luc surgeon Dr. Pierre Gohsn, the "most painful" of four major surgical interventions that Bouchard endured in the space of three difficult days last week. But in the end, it proved successful. For the operation finally managed to stem a seemingly relentless tide of infection that had very nearly engulfed him. He was well enough in the hours after his surgery to insist on asking his doctors for pen and paper to draft a brief message to well-wishers. *"Que l'on continue. Merci,"* he wrote from his hospital bed (roughly, "Carry on. Thank you."). And by the end of the week, a much relieved D'Amico was able to declare that while the pre-eminent leader of the Quebec separatist movement was "not yet out of the woods," he was nevertheless "almost there."

If D'Amico's prognosis proves accurate, Bouchard faces the prospect of a long and trying period of recovery—but not an impossible one. His doctors predicted at week's end that he would remain in intensive care for another ten days, followed by a further month in hospital while he is fitted with a prosthetic leg and begins physiotherapy to learn to walk again. "If there are no setbacks and all goes well, he could be back at work in as soon as three to four months' time," said D'Amico. That he survived at all, however, is something of a miracle. For Bouchard was struck by a rare but deadly killer: a disease that claims, according to the medical team at Saint-Luc, 80 per cent of its victims. A virulent strain of the otherwise common streptococcus bacteria, the illness works its devastating effects by burrowing under the skin, consuming muscle and fatty tissue until the skin itself is cut off from its blood supply and dies. Labelled necrotizing myositis by medical science, it is more popularly known, when it is known at all, as the "flesh-eating disease" (page 20)



PETER JAMES MACGREGOR/CP WIRE PHOTO



Bouchard; with wife Audrey and sons Alexandre and Simon (left): 'carry on'

The news of Bouchard's recovery, delivered live on television before a nationwide audience, prompted a well-nigh audible collective sigh of relief in Quebec and, indeed, right across Canada. Both friend and foe alike had watched in shocked fascination as Bouchard's plight unfolded, almost as rapidly as the disease itself. Less than a week earlier, the Bloc leader had appeared in fighting trim, preparing his troops for battle in Quebec's upcoming independence referendum with a rousing speech and a lively jig at a late-night dinner and dance at Mont Ste-Anne near Quebec City. The next day, though, he appeared weary, and his staff said he had been fighting off the flu. Two days later, he was in a Montreal hospital, diagnosed as suffering from nothing more serious than a case of phlebitis, an inflammation of the veins, in his left leg. But two days after that, he was suddenly, inexplicably on the brink of death, having already lost his leg. And then, in yet another stunning turn of events, he was, as his separatist ally and Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau eloquently remarked, "back from the abyss."

While Bouchard's life hung in the balance last week, much of Quebec seemed to be caught in the grip of his struggle. Distraught callers flooded open-line radio shows. Traffic-bound commuters intently monitored broadcast news reports. Shoppers clustered around television sets in malls. Emotions ran highest among Bouchard's friends and allies in the separatist camp. Former PQ cabinet minister Clement Richard reported that he had to pull his car to a stop when he first heard the news on his vehicle's radio. Like virtually every other member of the Parti Québécois government, Parizeau was visibly shaken when he spoke about what he described as "the terrible news" of Bouchard's perilous condition. "My old friend, hang on," the premier said when he met reporters at the national assembly in Quebec City. "Show the same courage that you've shown so often in the past, and I hope that soon it will have just been a very bad dream. Hang on, old friend." As Parizeau spoke, his wife, Lisette Lapointe, and his press attaché, Marie-Josee Gagnon, stood by his side. Tears flooded the eyes of both women.

Even longtime political rivals were moved. In Paris, where he was on a four-day visit, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, once described by Bouchard as an "arch-foe," said: "At moments like this, we have to put aside political differences to express our personal solidarity with the suffering of a fellow human being." Back in Canada, Quebec opposition leader Daniel Johnson expressed his "profound dismay." And Reform Leader Preston Manning, informed of Bouchard's illness on his way into a meeting in Halifax, promptly remarked: "I want to tell him that our thoughts and prayers are with him."

The tragedy that struck Bouchard could not have occurred at a more inopportune moment for the sovereignist movement (page 18). It came on the eve of the launch of the separatists' referendum campaign, a program that

Parizeau was scheduled to announce this week. And while few of Bouchard's allies in the movement were willing to admit as much publicly, at least part of the widespread despair at Bouchard's critical condition was surely connected with the fact that the separatists faced the loss of their most effective weapon in the struggle for independence just as the referendum campaign was about to get under way. Quebec's Municipal Affairs Minister Guy Chevrette, a key PQ strategist, conceded the point. "This is a hard blow for Quebec," he remarked, struggling to maintain control over his emotions. "I simply can't believe it. It's so unfair. Quebec needs Lucien Bouchard right now. He has a major role to play in the historic turn we are about to take."

Significantly, those comments came during Bouchard's darkest hours, when it was not yet clear that he would survive his ordeal. The situation underwent a dramatic change after his doctors announced on Friday morning that Bouchard was on the way to recovery. Once again, official separatist voices remained largely mute on the political impact that a recovering Bouchard might have on the referendum outcome. Parizeau himself impatiently dismissed all such questions as "inappropriate right now." But the fact remains that the Bloc Quebecois leader was the most admired politician in the province before he fell ill, a charismatic presence with an uncanny ability to rouse the emotions of Quebecers of all political stripes. And his ordeal is not likely to diminish his influence, indeed, the reverse is almost certainly true. "He's going to be back, and when he does come back he's going to be stronger than ever," Bloc MP Nic Leblanc confidently predicted last week as he stood outside Saint-Luc Hospital only moments after Bouchard's doctors delivered their encouraging news.

Claude Charron, a longtime friend of Bouchard who is currently a prominent television personality and was formerly a Quebec cabinet minister in René Lévesque's first PQ government, agreed. Charron, in fact, said that Bouchard is about to be elevated from being merely "the most loved politician in Quebec" to some higher, "almost mythic" level of veneration as a direct result of the terrible events that overtook him last week. "We always sensed that he could have a profound effect on the destiny of Quebec," said Charron. "Now, we're sure of it." Bouchard's hospital-bed message to "carry on" was immediately interpreted by sovereigntists as an inspirational political call—whatever the Bloc leader might have meant by it.

Whether Charron's prediction comes to pass will likely depend as much on Bouchard himself as it does on events in Quebec. Despite the widespread outpouring of affection for the man, it remains true that he has just experienced trauma of the most corrosive sort. And while his doctors expect him to recover, there are bound to be scars, both the obvious physical ones as well as less apparent psychological wounds. Aside from the debilitating effects of his baffling disease, Bouchard was under a surgeon's knife four times in three days last week. On Wednesday morning, they cut into his left leg to relieve the pressure on his muscles and blood vessels. Late the same day, his leg was amputated. On Thursday, his abdomen and chest cavity were opened to excise infected muscle and fat, to ensure that the disease did not spread further. And on Friday, the surgeons again went into his chest and abdomen to drain the area and make sure that the infection had been brought under control. Late last week, his doctors, despite their optimism, cautioned that Bouchard's condition remained critical and pointed out that he continued to suffer from swelling and inflammation in his lower body and throughout his chest cavity.

'He's going to be back, and he's going to be stronger than ever'



ROBERT GALBRAITH/REUTER

Supporter outside Saint-Luc Hospital in Montreal: his sign reads, 'Quebec is with you, Lucien'

Clearly, Bouchard has some distance to travel before his recovery is anywhere near complete. Even for a young man, the healing process would not be easy. But Bouchard will be 56 on Dec. 22. And while it seems unlikely that he would willingly abandon his part in the struggle for Quebec independence, it is not beyond the realm of possibility. Bouchard has often complained of the price he must pay for a life in politics, both in terms of lost income as well as demands on the time that could be spent with his American-born wife, Audrey, 34, and his two young sons, Alexandre, who is 5, and Simon, 3. Indeed, one of the prime reasons for the devotion that he inspires seems to be based on the fact that he is widely perceived by Quebec voters to be a reluctant politician, drawn into the political arena for reasons of principle rather than for the tawdry pursuit of personal goals. Only last week, during his speech to Bloc Québécois supporters at Mont Ste Anne, he once again ruminated on the issue, claiming that the impending referendum was likely to be "my last battle."

But whatever Bouchard's future plans, his immediate survival was enthusiastically welcomed. Not surprisingly, the separatist camp was most outspoken in their praise for the man and his personal courage. Parizeau greeted the news of his fellow separatist's recovery by happily describing the event as "a superb celebration of life." Bouchard's political opponents were almost as effusive. Even former prime minister Brian Mulroney, who regarded Bouchard's departure from his Conservative cabinet in 1990 when the Meech Lake constitutional accord was about to fail as a personal act of betrayal, was moved to offer condolences, although the two men have not spoken in the past four years. Mulroney and his wife, Mila, sent the Bouchards a handwritten note expressing, according to the former prime minister's office, their "deep sadness" at Bouchard's plight, as well as a "warm personal support message" for Audrey Bouchard and her two young children.

The mood may soon pass, but for one brief moment last week, Bouchard's personal tragedy did manage the often difficult task of uniting Canadians ☐



A MYTHIC FIGURE

The sovereignty movement has temporarily lost its most credible political figure

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH





Duceppe; Parizeau with Bouchard during the 1992 referendum on the Charlottetown constitutional accord (left); Quebec's modern leaders have been haunted by death and debilitating illness

In the second half of the 20th century, Quebec's political leaders have often demonstrated their ability to control much of the nation's political agenda as well as that of their own province. Too often, at the same time, they have been unable to do the same with their personal lives. Of 11 Quebec premiers to serve since 1950, three have died and three more have faced debilitating, potentially life-threatening health problems while in office. One was Rene Levesque, who died within two years of resigning from public life in 1985. Another was Robert Bourassa, who almost certainly would still be in public life if not for his 1990 bout with the most dangerous form of skin cancer. Of the four premiers to lead the Quebec government from 1970 until last September's election, only the two who served most briefly—Pierre-Marc Johnson and his brother, Daniel—have escaped such difficulties.

And now, Lucien Bouchard. True, he is not Quebec's political leader, in the strict sense of the definition. But he is arguably Canada's second most important political figure (after Prime Minister Jean Chrétien) because of his combined roles as leader of the official Opposition, emotional soul of the sovereigntist movement and spiritual heir to a line of charismatic Quebec nationalist leaders that extends from Henri Bourassa through to Levesque.

In the six years since Bouchard first entered electoral politics, he has evolved considerably himself, from a shy, quasi-federalist Progressive Conservative cabinet minister into the devout sovereigntist and impassioned orator who now is seen in Quebec as a natural leader and almost mythic figure. Although Bouchard is likely to be sidelined for several months as a result of last week's illness, amputation and shockingly sudden brush with death, those qualities, and his future impact on Canadian political life, are unlikely to change—unless they are enhanced. Already last week, his sovereigntist admirers were hailing a note scribbled to his doctors, saying: *"Que l'on continue"* ("Carry on"), as an exhortation by a man near death to carry on his life's mission in his absence.

For now, Bouchard's ordeal appears to have struck Canadians of all political stripes with an intensity of emotion—and sympathy—that few outside Quebec might have imagined. The most important sense is the horror evoked by the fact that a vibrant, healthy, relatively young (55) man with a wife and two young children could have his life threatened and then dramatically changed in such swift and unforgiving fashion. A less-expressed but unavoidable fact is that Lucien Bouchard will now no longer be the Man that English Canadians Love to Hate. That will become too difficult in the wake of his sudden plight, his apparent courage throughout it, and the lengthy and complex rehabilitation process he will need to adjust to life without his left leg.

And then there are the more pragmatic elements of daily political life. For sovereigntists, the elements of loss are obvious. The Bloc Québécois, although it has several strong MPs, does not even have any mechanism to provide for a temporary replacement for Bouchard—and, even if it did, has no one who can come close to replacing him. The two best-known MPs after him, party whip Gilles Duceppe and House leader Michel Gauthier, share Bouchard's talent for expressing simmering rage at all humiliations—real or imagined—inflicted on Quebec. But they lack his soaring oratorical ability and the sheer range and scope of his intellect. The entire sovereignty movement, more to the point, is temporarily bereft of its most compelling and credible spokesman. Even the newly defined notions of Quebec nationalism—based on the premise it is "territorial" rather than ethnic-based—will suffer. Bouchard has come to be seen as the symbol of francophone Quebec's openness to other linguistic and ethnic groups. Premier Jacques Parizeau, despite making similar statements, is regarded as a much more traditional nationalist. And no one else can properly take advantage of Bouchard's ability, as Opposition leader, to sell the case for Quebec independence to foreign leaders.

But while Bouchard recuperates, some Canadians who dislike his sovereigntist convictions will also have reason to miss his powerful presence in the House of Commons. With the near destruction of the New Democratic Party, which has only nine seats, the Bloc Québécois—on those relatively few occasions when it has looked at issues beyond Quebec's borders—has been the only large party to counter the increasingly right-wing drift of the House of Commons. Bouchard has made several thoughtful and eloquent speeches defending, among other things, the role of Canada's peacekeepers in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia, the need for the country to have a strong web of social programs and—although he missed last week's debate—the importance of tightened gun-control legislation. When the Quebec government complained that a federal decision to implement environmental assessment tests was an "intrusion" on provincial rights, Bouchard, who drafted the original legislation on the subject, stayed quiet.

"We have to respect institutions," Bouchard has often said. And paradoxically, he appears more attached to Canadian parliamentary traditions than to the country that developed them. That is the opposite of the other opposition party, Reform, which defends Canadian unity even as it criticizes those traditions. It is probably no coincidence that Bloc MPs do their utmost to push the limits of traditional parliamentary behavior—through name-calling and shouted insults—on those occasions when he is not present. And despite the fact that Bouchard is remembered by most English-speaking Canadians for his betrayal of his then-close friend Brian Mulroney at the time of the Meech Lake constitutional accord, he has his own rigidly defined code of behavior towards political opponents. Through mutual friends, he has made several overtures towards reconciliation with Mulroney, which have been rebuffed. Although Bouchard once said that Mulroney was more harsh to Quebec than Pierre Trudeau was, he speaks warmly of him in his 1992 autobiography, *On the Record*.

Similarly, Bouchard—who keeps a Canadian flag alongside the Quebec flag in his Parliament Hill office because of that regard for tradition—has sometimes shown a willingness to break with conventional partisan politics. When the Reform party accused Chrétien of patronage in appointing his nephew, Raymond, ambassador to Washington in December, 1993, Bouchard—who served with Raymond Chrétien at Canada's Embassy in Paris—praised his appointment effusively. Then, when the Parti Quebecois called for Chrétien's recall from Washington for not disavowing remarks made against the Quebec government by Cree leader Matthew Coon-Come in a recent speech there, Bouchard stayed silent. Similarly, when the Reform party criticized the appointment of Roméo LeBlanc as governor general, Bouchard called them "cheap" and expressed delight at the appointment of LeBlanc, an Acadian, as "someone who has spent a lifetime working for francophone rights." That praise came despite the fact that LeBlanc vehemently opposed Meech Lake, which Bouchard strongly supported.

In his recovery period in coming months, Bouchard will have a chance to become what he often says he enjoys being the most: a private figure. But that unplanned respite from public life will be temporary, painful, and surrounded by some of the greatest expectations ever heaped on a political figure in Canada's 127-year history. As Bouchard fought the ravages of a terrible disease last week, politicians from all parties were unanimous in agreeing that it was no time to debate such important but unseemly topics as the timing of the Quebec referendum and whether Reform would replace the Bloc as the official Opposition if Bouchard was unable to retain his seat. But even as the news of Bouchard's recovery became known on Parliament Hill last week, the expressions of public delight were already mixed with those other, more private and less proper concerns. Said one Liberal minister in an informal conversation: "You could see the expressions change" on the faces of MPs from the different parties as they began to look ahead to the battle again. Bouchard, it seems likely, will be back in public life, diminished in some ways physically but, in others, larger than life. □

A SWIFT KILLER

The disease that attacked Lucien Bouchard affects only one person in a million

The ordeal began in October, when John Jeffs felt a sharp pain under his right arm. Within a few days, recalls Jeffs, a retirement home administrator in Aurora, Ont., 25 km north of Toronto, "pain and swelling started to move across my chest and up my neck." Perplexed, local physicians had Jeffs transferred to a Toronto hospital where doctors diagnosed a severe group A streptococcus infection and, at one point, considered amputating Jeffs's arm. As the disease spread, Jeffs's heart and liver were affected, he was put on a life support system. "The skin was coming off his hands and feet in thick chunks," recalls Jeffs's wife, Janice. Finally, after 10 days in intensive care, antibiotics halted the infection. But the damage to the man's body was extensive, and it was four months before Jeffs, 43, could return to work part-time. Jeffs was luckier than Lucien Bouchard. The stunning swiftness with which a similar infection robbed the Bloc Quebecois leader of his left leg last week focused attention on necrotizing fasciitis, a disease that is still rare—it affects about one person in a million—but may gradually be growing more prevalent.



McDonald at Mount Sinai Hospital in Toronto: 'It is almost a Darwinian balancing act'

Until recently, few people had ever heard of necrotizing fasciitis, the virulent bacterial infection that devours human tissue, or of necrotizing myositis, the variant that attacked Bouchard. The disease gained prominence last May, after it attacked seven people in the English city of Gloucester. And suddenly last week, necrotizing fasciitis seemed to be everywhere. A day after Bouchard's leg was amputated, a 24-year-old female student at Newfoundland's Memorial University died of the disease in St. John's. Two men died of the disease in California last week, and in Winnipeg, a 46-year-old woman died of it in early November. Doctors are only beginning to learn why some strains of group A streptococcus bacteria wreak such terrible damage on the human body. But they know what the disease can do. Because necrotizing fasciitis destroys human tissue so rapidly, it can inflict fatal damage before antibiotics have had time to stop it.

Some doctors are convinced that the disease is becoming more widespread—but they cannot prove it. The reason: because necrotizing fasciitis is not contagious, most doctors in Canada and the United States are not required to report it. In Ontario, one of the few North American jurisdictions where records now are being kept, officials counted 18 cases over the past two years. So far this year, there have been eight cases in the province. Even if it is increasing, says Brett Finlay, a molecular biologist with the Canadian Bacterial Diseases Network in Vancouver, "with numbers like that,



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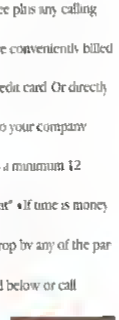
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it's just peanuts—practically non-existent compared with other serious diseases."

Necrotizing fasciitis is just one of an array of illnesses that can be caused by a versatile family of more than 70 bacterial strains known as group A streptococcus. Group A strep can cause skin rashes, ordinary sore throats and more serious strep throat, as well as scarlet and rheumatic fever and bubonic plague. In its most virulent forms, group A strep can also induce deadly infections, including a form of toxic shock syndrome—which killed Muppets creator Jim Henson in 1990—as well as necrotizing fasciitis, which starts in the connective tissue between skin and muscle and can go on to attack muscles and organs throughout the body. When the disease engulfs mainly muscle, as it did in Bouchard's case, the term necrotizing myositis is sometimes used.

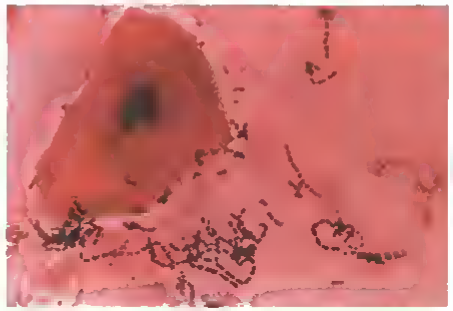
Necrotizing fasciitis can start with a simple cut or even a bruise—anything that breaks the body's protective barrier of skin and lets the bacteria in. At a news conference following the amputation of Bouchard's leg, doctors rejected a suggestion that the politician might have picked up the bacteria that caused his illness in Montreal's Saint-Luc Hospital, where he was treated. But other doctors note that people often acquire infections in hospitals. "Certainly, necrotizing fasciitis can be acquired in a hospital setting," says Dr. Andrew Simor, a microbiologist at the Sunnybrook Health Science Centre in Toronto. "Unfortunately, hospitals are not very sterile environments."

Though few Canadians are likely to be struck by necrotizing fasciitis, there is no way of hiding from the bacteria that cause it. About 15 per cent of all North American children and one in every 100 adults are group A strep carriers, which means that they may carry the bacteria in their bodies without ever becoming ill. And the bacteria can easily jump to a new host through bodily contact or when a carrier coughs and sprays bacteria-laden droplets into the air where another person can inhale them. Luckily, most of the illnesses caused by group A strep are not life-threatening, and some group A-related diseases appear to be on the wane: scarlet fever, regarded as a serious disease 40 years ago, is now increasingly rare in North America.

But some group A illnesses—including necrotizing fasciitis—may be slowly gaining ground around the world as the result of a cyclical shift in the relationship between bacterial and human populations that scientists do not yet fully understand. The principal villains are two strains of group A strep—dubbed M1 and M3—which cause some cases of severe blood infections and toxic shock syndrome, and are responsible for most cases of necrotizing fasciitis and myositis. "These strains have become more prevalent during the past 10 years," says Benjamin Schwartz, an epidemiologist at the Centres for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta.

No one is sure why M1 and M3 are spreading. But scientists have theories. They speculate that the strains were more prevalent a generation ago than they are now. In those days, M1 and M3 caused the same diseases they cause today (though in the past, some cases of necrotizing fasciitis may have been confused with gas gangrene and other tissue-destroying diseases). And because M1 and M3 were more prevalent a generation ago, more people encountered them and became immune to the bugs without becoming ill.

As immunity in the human population increased, the theory holds, the bacteria population dwindled. "As we build up immunity, the bacteria population becomes dormant," says Dr. Kelly McDonald, a medical microbiologist at Toronto's Mount Sinai Hospital. "It is almost a Darwinian balancing act between the bacteria strains and the human response to them." Then, as people encountered fewer of the M1 and M3 strains over the years, their immunity declined—and now the opportunistic bacteria may be staging a comeback. Because of the lack of immunity, says the CDC's Schwartz, "more people become sick and give the bacteria to others. And the bacteria gradually becomes more widespread in the population."



Group A strep infection under microscope: skin rashes and sore throats



Arm attacked by necrotizing fasciitis: no way to hide from the bacteria

Meanwhile, scientists are beginning to understand the mechanisms that enable the M1 and M3 strains to destroy human tissue so efficiently. Many of the M1 and M3 bacteria are armed with a powerful toxin, or poison, called pyrogenic exotoxin A, which can cause widespread damage by causing the body's immune system to overreact, triggering a destructive "inflammatory cascade." As well, Simor has discovered that the M1 and M3 strains possess more proteaze enzymes, which specialize in devouring protein, than other members of the group A family. Equipped with its toxin and protein-eating capability, the M1 and M3 strains can eat rapidly through human tissue. "Once the bacteria gets inside a host body," says Finlay, "it begins chewing up tissue to get at the nutrients." In this nourishing environment, the bacteria multiply rapidly and eat their way through tissue at a rate that can destroy as much as an inch of human flesh an hour.

Unlike some other disease-causing bacteria—including the ones that cause tuberculosis and some forms of meningitis—the group A strep have not developed immunity to antibiotics. "Drug resistance," says Schwartz, "is not a problem." But the swiftness with which necrotizing fasciitis can destroy human flesh often outstrips the ability of penicillin, the antibiotic most commonly used to contain the disease. Antibiotics, notes Finlay, "can take up to 48 hours to kick in. Necrotizing fasciitis just develops too quickly for it."

Because necrotizing fasciitis is still extremely rare, trying to avoid it, says McDonald, is "like saying, how can I avoid getting hit by lightning." Still, there are sensible steps that can be taken. Because even a seemingly trivial infection or skin wound can set the stage for deadly infection, experts advise people to see a physician whenever a cut shows signs of redness or swelling or is accompanied by fever. After witnessing the horrifying speed with which a group A infection destroyed Lucien Bouchard's leg, many Canadians may make a point of following that advice.

MARK NICHOLS *with SHARON DOYLE DRIEDGER*

Allan Rock's war on guns

The justice minister unveils a set of proposals to restrict firearms

Behind the polished, polite exterior of Justice Minister Allan Rock, it is becoming clear, beats the heart of a single-minded and shrewd political warrior. As recently as late September, his plans to introduce tough new gun-control legislation were endangered by a Liberal caucus revolt that was driven in turn, by a growing and well-co-ordinated national campaign by gun owners. More than 10,000 gun lobbyists showed up for a demonstration on Parliament Hill, while several Liberal MPs said publicly they would vote against any further gun controls. And Rock, some of his opponents added with a sneer, should not pronounce on a topic he knew nothing about. The 47-year-old justice minister, who had never handled a firearm in his life, responded with characteristic meticulousness. For one thing, he said last week, he decided that opponents "would want to know that I actually had picked up a firearm, knew the heft of a Magnum [revolver], knew the recoil of a shotgun. So I went to the RCMP firing range and blasted away."

If gun advocates had expected the experience to be an epiphany for him, they were sorely disappointed. Firing a gun, Rock said, was "interesting," but otherwise changed nothing for him. He, on the other hand, began working hard to change the minds of opponents within the Liberal caucus, crisscrossing the country to visit their ridings and urging them to arrange meetings for him with concerned groups. He also decided to confront skeptics—among both his supporters and opponents—who suggested he would rather talk about the issue than act on it. "An opposition member recently said I should be called the minister of consultation rather than the minister of justice," Rock said with a grimace. "It came time to show that is not so."

Last week Rock did so in dramatic fashion. He introduced a "decision document"—a precursor to a series of bills that will be introduced in early February—that outlined sweeping reforms to the way Canada regulates the ownership and use of firearms. Among the key measures:

- All gun owners will be required, over a seven-year period beginning in 1996, to register themselves and, subsequently, their weapons. At present, the government estimates that Canada's three million gun owners have about seven million firearms.
- Canadians will be banned from owning handguns unless they are collectors or use them for target shooting. Sales of handguns will face stiff new controls, and it will not be possible to transfer or bequeath ownership of handguns after the death of the present owner.
- Anyone using firearms while committing serious crimes, such as robbery or kidnapping, will face a minimum four-year sentence to be served in addition to the sentence for the other crime.
- Sales of ammunition will be severely restricted, and 21 types of assault weapons and paramilitary rifles will be banned.

Of those measures, almost everyone on either side of the debate likes the idea of tougher sanctions for the use of firearms during crimes. "We are the law-and-order party and surely will support a strengthening of penalties," said Reform MP and justice critic Jack Ramsay. As a result, the most angry protests centre on the registration plan, and the measures affecting ownership of handguns. Although gun control has long aroused intense debate within Canada, one new element is the adherence of some Reform MPs and gun owners to an American-style belief that law-abiding citizens should have a constitutional right to bear arms.



A. CHAT. COHEN

Gun-control legislation, said Ramsay, requires a government to "balance the right of the individual to own property, in this case firearms, with the responsibility of the state to protect members of society from the dangerous or illegal use of firearms."

To no one's surprise, Rock defends the need to take tough action by, among other things, sharply criticizing the American approach to gun ownership. "There are very few countries in the world that, like Canada, live on a 5,000 km border with a culture awash in guns that saturates us with their entertainment, that tries to seduce us with their values, and that puts us next to 200-million plus handguns and rifles in private ownership," said Rock.

Still, in their opposition to Rock's registration plan, the gun lobby will receive support that is at least symbolically important and comes from an unlikely source: the federal New Democratic Party caucus. On the one hand, there is an obvious irony in the NDP—the party that has always been most in favor of government intervention—opposing a gun registration law. But the party's traditional—although now-shrunken—roots are in the Prairies, where the tradition of gun ownership is particularly strong. "We need to be persuaded that the national registry will work," said Saskatchewan MP Chris Axworthy. "I have some questions about the cost, the bureaucracy, and the extent to which it will work in rural areas versus urban areas." At the same time, some recalcitrant Liberals say they may still oppose a bill containing that requirement. "I hope the proposals will not be in one bill," said Ontario Liberal MP Benoit Serré. "I'm afraid I would have to vote against it."

Serré will not get his wish. A senior justice department official told *Maclean's* that the new measures, which affect a variety of existing laws and regulations, will be tabled simultaneously in one omnibus bill. That means, among other things, that MPs like Serré, who support new restrictions on gun use for criminals, but oppose other aspects of the bill, must now decide which issues are more important to them. In the case of Reform MPs, the vast majority will likely vote against such a bill. Not many Liberals are expected to follow suit—at least if Prime Minister Jean Chrétien has his way. Said an adviser to Chrétien: "That [opposition], is not an option we think our caucus members should consider." And even if several Liberal MPs do break ranks, the bill is almost certain to pass easily, while criticizing Rock for delaying the legislation, the 53-member Bloc Québécois caucus otherwise supported its main goals.

At the same time, Rock insists that many present opponents of the registration plan will be won over when they see the "ease" with which it is implemented. He compares the new process to the equivalent of "holding a driver's licence and a separate registration form for your car." The driver's licence equivalent will be a Firearms Possession Certificate (FPC). From Jan. 1, 1996, anyone owning a firearm will be required to send a form containing their name and address to the justice department. In turn, they will receive an FPC—if they pass a background check by the department to ensure that they are not prohibited from owning weapons. That form will have to be renewed every five years. The second form is a Firearms Registration Card (FRC). Beginning on Jan. 1, 1998, firearm owners will have to fill in a form listing their name, address, FPC number and the type and serial numbers of any weapons they own. That form will be valid for as long as the owner maintains the firearms. Although federal officials have not yet said how much each of those forms will cost, they say they are likely to give the FPC for free as an incentive to anyone registering within the first year of the program. "Owners," predicted Rock, "are going to be pleasantly surprised by how painless this process will be."

If so, that may be one of the only simple points in an otherwise complex plan. Federal officials worked closely with computer experts from IBM to create what they describe as a state-of-the-art system that will help police across the country to instantly verify whether firearms holders are legally entitled to the weapons they carry. If, for example, someone living in Ontario and possessing an FPC is convicted in British Columbia of a crime that results in their losing the right to carry a weapon, that information will be listed instantly on a data bank that will be available nationwide to police—even in their patrol cars. The system, said a Justice official, "will be one-of-a-kind: no other country is even close to doing what we plan."



TOM ARNOLD/CP (AP Photos)

Rock at Ottawa pro-gun rally in September; weapons seized by customs at Niagara Falls, Ont. (left), presenting a national 'decision document'

But plans are one thing—and achieving them sometimes quite another. Some opponents of the proposed legislation predict mass civil disobedience. "You can pass any laws you want, but it doesn't necessarily mean the public will do it," said Luc Dufresne, a gun-shop owner in Hull, Que. And even Rock concedes that stopping the flow of guns from the United States will be "an extremely challenging task."

There are also some complex—and conflicting—priorities to be considered. One involves balancing the traditional right of native people to bring weapons across the border without undue restrictions against the concern that native reserves will become hotbeds for smuggling. In the Yukon, Rock says, he met natives who told him "when you organize your law, Mr. Minister, you better be bloody careful to ensure we can still have our traditional potlatch [with the bringing of guns as gifts] with our neighbors and band colleagues from Alaska across that artificial border you've drawn." The lessons of that experience, says Rock, are that you have to be flexible, that none of this will be easy, but we cannot let that be an excuse for inaction." And Rock, in bringing months of tempestuous discussions to a dramatic close, has now taken action that will speak louder, and longer, than any words.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH *With LUKE FISHER in Ottawa*

Internal demons

An accused murderer recants his confession

He had already confessed, on tape, to a most heinous crime—the setting of a bomb that killed nine men in an underground explosion at the Giant gold mine near Yellowknife two years ago. He had also taken police on a videotaped re-enactment of his actions in the hours leading up to the fatal blast, and confessed once again to an undercover officer planted in his jail cell shortly after his arrest. So for observers of the sensational five-week-old first-degree murder trial in Yellowknife, the key question had become how did Roger Warren plan to defend himself against charges that he had condemned nine of his fellow miners to a horrible death in the deep?

Last week, as the 50-year-old Warren sat in the witness box, his defence strategy began to emerge. Asked by one of his lawyers if he had anything to do with the Sept. 18, 1992, Giant mine bombing, Warren replied "No, I did not." He then took the jury through not only his rebuttal of the Crown's case against him, but his life story. By his own account, Warren was barely a shell of a man by the time he made his confessions to police officers in October, 1993. He had suffered from the stress of watching one man die and another blinded in an earlier explosion at the mine. He had agonized over the bitter strike that had been waged at the mine since May, 1992. He had begun to suffer from sexual impotence after taking medication to correct an irregular heartbeat. And after feeling a lump in his scrotum, he feared that he had testicular cancer.

Warren, who had worked at the Giant mine for 12 years, testified that being out of a job added to his feelings of worthlessness. He started, he said, to refer to himself by the pet name of "Meat." He also began to hear voices in his head, goading him about his loss of manhood and urging him to show courage by confessing to setting the explosives.

Warren also told the jury that two newspaper articles published shortly before he made his first confession to police had made a deep impression upon him. The first, appearing in *The Edmonton Journal*, described in detail the then-current police theory of how three suspects had set the deadly bomb. It was widely discussed among the strikers, he said, with some joking that they should find someone who was terminally ill and get him to confess. The second article in the local *yellowknifer* quoted Peggy Witte—the tough-minded president of Royal Oak Mines Inc. who had hired 150 replacement workers to keep the mine operating—as saying that she wanted to see charges laid in the bombing before resuming talks on ending the strike. Warren said that during a six-hour police interview on Oct. 15, 1993, his internal demons convinced him to take the fall for his buddies. "The voice said, 'Meat, go for it,'" he recalled. "'You'll go down in flames, but you might rise again like a phoenix.'"

Defence lawyers told the jury last week that they will call medical experts to testify to Warren's failing health and his state of mind at the time of the confessions. They also said that they had five witnesses who will account for his presence during about half of the three hours that he allegedly spent setting the bomb. The developments clearly took Crown prosecutor Peter Martin by surprise, he told reporters that the trial, which was expected to end later this month, will now stretch into the new year.

BRIAN BERGMAN *with* **LIZA SARDI** *in Yellowknife*

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Canada NOTES

FLAWED BLOOD

There are still problems with Canada's blood supply that could put users at risk, according to an international panel of experts who conducted a safety audit on behalf of a federal inquiry in the country's blood system. Among the flaws cited in the report: a lax inspection and enforcement system for blood centres, conflict over spending priorities between the Red Cross and the Canadian Blood Agency, which funds it, the lack of an integrated computer system for the Red Cross.

CANCER CONTROVERSY

A study by the Screening Mammography Program of British Columbia suggests that women in their 40s should have regular X-rays to detect early signs of breast cancer. Its findings contradict other recent surveys, including the 1992 National Breast Screening Study, which concluded that regular breast X-rays for women under 50 do not reduce the death toll from the disease. The Canadian Cancer Society and the National Institute of Cancer said they would continue to recommend regular screenings only for women over 50.

A CANADIAN FIRST

Lenna Bradburn, 34, was appointed chief of the 142-member police force in Guelph, Ont., becoming the first woman to head a police force at the municipal, provincial or federal level in Canada.

'WRONGFUL BIRTH' SUIT

A lawsuit alleging "wrongful birth" was settled out of court after Dr. Helga Sickert of Winnipeg admitted that she should have told Jane Sanders—the mother of a four-year-old child who was born with severe Down's syndrome—that a prenatal test indicated that the baby could be disabled. The details of the settlement were not disclosed.

A STAGGERING STATISTIC

Statistics Canada said that the tuberculosis rate is 43 times higher among status Indians than among non-aboriginal Canadians. Health experts blame the results on the poor living conditions of many natives.

A PARTY OF FIVE

A 30-year-old Toronto nurse gave birth to quintuplets, the smallest weighing less than one pound. The three girls and two boys, delivered by caesarean section 13 weeks before the due date, were considered out of danger in a hospital neonatal unit. The parents, who did not want their names publicized, were involved in a fertility program.



CALLING A TRUCE: Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and French President Edouard Balladur exchange signed treaties in Paris formally marking the end of a longstanding feud over fishing around the French islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon off Canada's east coast. During his four-day trip to France, Chrétien also helped commemorate World AIDS day and became only the second world leader—after Germany's Helmut Kohl—to address the French senate.

Cracking down on welfare

New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna's Liberal government introduced a series of social-policy reforms aimed at reducing the provincial welfare burden. Under the new proposals, individuals who quit their jobs may be denied social assistance, and any able-bodied welfare recipients who refuse a job offer will see their basic assistance level reduced by the amount they would have received if they had taken the job. But it is young New Brunswickers who stand to lose the most. Anyone under 21 must attend school full time and live at home to receive a welfare cheque. Teenage fathers will be expected to contribute money for the care of their children. If they cannot, the child's grandparents then become liable. Government aid is only an option if the grandparents, too, are unable to help.

"It's a question of taking responsibility," explained Ann Breault, New Brunswick's welfare minister. "Parenting is a serious business, and we all have to be responsible for our actions." But the government's critics say the proposed measures are too harsh. "There is no consistency," says provincial NDP Leader Elizabeth Weir. "It doesn't take a rocket scientist to figure out that there are no provincial measures to help teens make informed choices [about birth control]. Then, they complain when young people get pregnant." The logic also escapes Bill Briggs, a board member of Planned Parenthood Fredericton who says parents cannot be held accountable for the choices their children make. "One can use the criminal court analogy," he adds. "If a 15-year-old child shoots a bullet through someone's head, the parents don't go to trial."

MISSION IMPOSSIBLE

THE UNITED NATIONS CONTEMPLATES A PULLOUT FROM THE QUAGMIRE THAT IS BOSNIA



ASSIGNMENT
BRUCE WALLACE
IN BOSNIA

It is symptomatic of the world's confused, hesitant and hypocritical response to the shame of Bosnia that it cannot even call a hostage a hostage—the kidnappers might take offence. Instead, the more than 400 UN soldiers, including 55 Canadians, who were captives of the Bosnian Serb army last week were described as peacekeepers whose "movements are severely restricted." Or they were "detainees." The Bosnian Serbs had a name for them, too. "They used to smile and say that they were looking forward to having us as 'guests,'" said Allan Seward, an RCMP officer serving with the United Nations in Bosnia.

They were, in fact, hostages. Prisoners of war, held in reprisal for three feeble NATO air strikes at the Bosnian Serb army, which had defied the United Nations' line in the sand by blasting its way into the designated "safe" area around the town of Bihac in northwestern Bosnia. As if that was not enough, Bosnian Serb soldiers slipped into neighboring Croatia last week and, in a commando-style raid, kidnapped seven Ukrainian peacekeepers from their observation post and marched them back into Serbian-held territory in Bosnia. A day later, Serbian fighters fired three missiles at the headquarters of the Bosnian government in Sarajevo, shortly before UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi arrived for talks aimed at ending the harassment of peacekeeping troops. At week's end, it remained uncertain whether the Serbs would deliver on their promise to release their hostages. It appeared they were not merely thumbing their noses at the United Nations, they seemed determined to inflict humiliation.

The 39,173 members of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) are getting used to the feeling. The smell of retreat is in the air and, if the choppers are not yet on the roof of UNPROFOR headquarters in the Croatian capital of Zagreb, the drone of whirring blades is not far off. UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali admitted as much last week. Concluding a disastrous visit to Sarajevo—during which he was jeered by angry Sarajevans and snubbed by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic—the embattled Egyptian diplomat warned that, unless the warring factions agreed to cooperate, "it will become impossible to persuade the Security Council to keep UNPROFOR here."

Many would not mourn their departure. The United Nations has become everybody's favorite whipping boy in this debacle, quite an achievement in an affair where more energy is spent apportioning blame than formulating policy. To U.S. Senator Bob Dole and former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, the peacekeepers are simply in the way. Get the UN troops out and NATO could bomb the Serbs with impunity, they argue. To Bosnia's Muslim-led government, which also wants NATO to unleash its power on the Serbs, the blue berets are useless bystanders who have failed to deliver them from their enemy. For the increasingly testy Croatian government, the presence of peacekeepers is turning the ceasefire lines from their 1991 war with Serbia into permanent borders, something they say is unacceptable. And to Bosnia's Serbs, the NATO air attack proved what they believed all along: the United Nations was a front for a Western operation aimed at shoring up the Bosnian government.

But the United Nations makes a convenient target. "Everybody is playing the United Nations for a patsy," said one Canadian official. "But the problem is no one has ever known what to do about Bosnia, so we just threw the United Nations at the problem." Indeed, the confused handling of the Bosnian crisis is a result of the world's failure to agree on what the war is about. Is it a civil war between ancient enemies, as European governments still maintain? Or is the partitioning of Bosnia an act of aggression by militaristic thugs—Bosnia's Serbs—aided and abetted by Serbia itself?

Unable to agree but anxious to satisfy the inevitable cries that "something must be done," the Security Council settled for the soft option of peacekeepers. The United Nations was to maintain designated "safe zones" and negotiate and supervise ceasefires, while delivering humanitarian aid to more than three million hungry and frightened civilians. "In order to do that, there is one principle that thou shall not violate, and that is impartiality," Canadian Maj.-Gen. Ray Crabbe, UNPROFOR's deputy force commander, told *Maclean's* last week in his Zagreb headquarters. "Once you become partial to the conflict, you might as well go home—because it is impossible to execute peacekeeping functions. If you have a massive bombing campaign, you are siding with one of the parties. Once you cross that line you can't step back."

Crabbe's assessment underscores just how close the United Nations has come to quitting Bosnia. It has been placed in an almost impossible position, resented by all sides in the conflict, and criticized by U.S. politicians for refusing to respond militarily—even though it is not equipped for heavy fighting. Indeed, many critics argue—and Crabbe acknowledges they may be right—that the so-called humanitarian aid may be prolonging the war. All sides steal from the convoys that move through their areas. With the rest of the world feeding their civilian populations, the warring parties are free to concentrate on military matters. And the 44,136 relatively well-paid UN personnel represent a tremendous boost to the local economies. Zagreb, in particular, is booming thanks to the UN presence.

But the mission seems to be at its nadir. It is now wrestling with its own corruption problems, and has set up a special investigative unit to examine strong evidence that some UNPROFOR battalions have sold fuel and ammunition to the warring factions. UN police officers, who serve under the banner of CIVPOL, told *Maclean's* that such practices are common, and cannot be stopped because offenders are simply turned over to their own commanders—many of whom wink at the practice.

The United Nations is in disarray in Bosnia. For several days last week, aid convoys ground to a halt—the Serbs would not let them pass. Many of UNPROFOR's soldiers admit that they have lost faith in the mission. Once, it was UN cars that were being stolen at will by the factions. Now, peacekeepers themselves are being hijacked. The official count of hostages last week did not even include several CIVPOL officers who were being refused permission to leave their sectors. Four





CHRIS HELGREN/REUTER

A UN peacekeeper helps a wounded civilian in Bihac; Canadian base in Visoko (left): humanitarian aid may prolong the war

RCMP officers were among those being held As a result, they were unable to accompany 39 colleagues on their return to Canada on the weekend Amid the chaos, some CIVPOL officers fled their stations to seek safety with armed UN battalions One Russian battalion refused pleas for safety and food from fellow UN officers Sneered one Canadian UNPROFOR official after returning to Zagreb from a UN sector near Bihac "Lester B Pearson must be spinning in his grave"

It is fitting that it was at Bihac that the UN mission to the former Yugoslavia collapsed into chaos Like Srebrenica and Gorazde before it, Bihac is another of those once anonymous Balkan towns now emblazoned on the world's conscience But the recent history of Bihac has a surreal quality all its own Nothing better illustrates the absurdity and confusion of the conflict

For a time until this summer, Bihac was a peaceful and prosperous oasis It was one of six UN safe areas in Bosnia, but it was also the personal fiefdom of Fikret Abdic, a Muslim businessman People in the Bihac area called him Babo, or father "Abdic built a lot of factories and gave people work," said Danka Uzelac, who used to work as a translator for Abdic's wife It did not matter that the red-haired, sad-eyed Uzelac is a Croat; nor that her husband is a Serb "People did not have to think about nationality to do business," she said "Abdic is a businessman, and for that he needed to trade, not destroy So he made good relations with Serbs and Croats in Bihac"

For that, Abdic attracted the enmity of the Muslim-led Bosnian government in Sarajevo Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic was furious that Abdic had chosen to trade with, rather than kill, Serbs He called Abdic and his followers "rebel Muslims," and ordered his army's V Corps to overthrow the businessman The breakup of Yugoslavia had seen every permutation of Serb-Croat-Muslim violence, but this was a new twist Muslim against Muslim. By the middle of August, V Corps had prevailed Izetbegovic's men drove out Abdic and about 40,000 of his supporters—including Uzelac, her husband and three sons—from their homes. Uzelac says Abdic's Muslim followers feared "the Islamic extremists in V Corps," which includes a smattering of Islamic fundamentalist mercenaries from, among other places, Sudan



Bosnian Serbs with mortar outside Bihac: the United Nations makes a convenient target



The refugees fled north and west of Bihac, creating two refugee camps in the so-called zone of separation The zone is a two-kilometre-wide buffer between Croatia and the self-styled Krajina republic, a swath of predominantly Serbian territory taken from Croatia in the 1991 Serb-Croat war One of the camps, Turanj, is a nasty, inhospitable stretch of gutted buildings, vacant since that war Since August, it has been home to more than 20,000 people It has no electricity and relies on daily shipments of food. Roads into Croatia are barricaded by razor wire and armed soldiers, while fields on either side are laced with land mines. Only the wealthy can escape by buying their freedom, the going price, $2,700 "It is like the Second World War here," said Uzelac. "This is a concentration camp."

The area bristles with tension Croatia is still demanding Krajina's return, and there were clashes all along the UN-patrolled contact line last week. On a single day, UN observers reported 132 cease-fire violations If the region explodes into full-scale war again, it will be a vicious fight UN observers in Krajina say that the Serbs are well armed, possessing not only surface-to-air missiles but also long-range rockets, which could easily strike Zagreb, 110 km to the north "There is an AK-47 in every home," said Bill Roberts, a Mountie who has just finished a six-month tour with CIVPOL.

And the Krajina Serbs are willing to fight They have played an instrumental role in the Bosnian Serb assault on Bihac, hitting the Muslim V Corps from the west while the Bosnian Serbs attacked from the east. In other words, the attack on Bihac came from a coalition of Bosnian and Krajina Serbs—some of them fighting from land that the world still recognizes as Croatia—aligned with Muslim recruits who were unhappy with their Sarajevo-based leaders Little wonder that UN commanders did not authorize air strikes over Bihac Who would they have bombed?

The peacekeepers, who arrived in the Balkans two years ago with airy optimism and a willingness to perform good deeds, have instead become the targets of resentment from a population locked in a war that refuses to end Almost to a person, the Canadian Mounties who served in CIVPOL in the sectors surrounding Bihac say that UNPROFOR is not working "I am not accustomed to being spat at," said Allan Seward, who normally serves with an RCMP detachment in Cole Harbour, N S. "If you do that to me at home, you've got a problem. But here, we had no authority"

The CIVPOL officers came to the Balkans expecting to patrol alongside Croatian and Serbian militias to ensure the rights of all parties were protected They quickly learned their task was

A CHAOTIC SPIRAL

1945: Communist strongman Marshal Josip Broz Tito assumes power in Yugoslavia, a federation grouping many nationalities and ethnic groups in six republics—Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia—as well as two autonomous provinces within Serbia, Kosovo and Vojvodina. He subdues ethnic tensions during his 35-year iron rule.



Josip Broz Tito

1980: After Tito's death, age-old ethnic and religious antagonisms resurface, straining the federal system.

1990: Slovenia and Croatia elect non-Communist governments and demand a loose confederation.

1991: Slovenia and Croatia declare independence separately, sparking a civil war with the Serbian-dominated federal army. Macedonia breaks away from Yugoslavia.

1992: Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina declare independence. The Bosnian Serb minority rebels, sparking war. The United Nations installs a 14,000-member force to ensure the security of Serbian minority enclaves in Croatia and provide humanitarian aid to all sides.

1993: The United Nations tightens a 1992 international economic blockade of Serbia and Montenegro, the rump Yugoslavia, after Bosnian Serbs refuse to accept a UN-sponsored plan to end the war in Bosnia It also establishes six "safe areas" in Bosnia for Muslim civilians.

1994: The United Nations authorizes NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serb missile sites to stem an assault on the safe zone around Bihac. The Serbs detain UN peacekeepers, including 58 Canadians, as human shields against further attacks. The United Nations contemplates a pullout.

THE WAITING GAME BACK HOME

A light blanket of snow covered the ground outside the Canex store at the Canadian Forces base in Petawawa, Ont., last week as soldiers in green fatigues, some loaded down with Christmas presents and rolls of wrapping paper, busily loaded their cars But amid this year's holiday cheer, there is also apprehension Nearly 600 members of the base's Royal Canadian Dragoons Battle Group are among the 2,000 Canadian soldiers who, despite overwhelming odds, are trying to bring at least a measure of peace and goodwill to war-torn former Yugoslavia And of the 55 Canadian peacekeepers who were detained on Nov 23 by Bosnian Serbs near Visoko, 43 come from Petawawa

Still, the families of those servicemen have reacted to recent events with dignified military stoicism For that, many of the wives credit a series of morale-boosting social activities—from crafts nights to coffee klatches—organized by the Dragoons' ladies club They also point to the efforts of the soldiers who remain in Petawawa and operate a 24-hour telephone hotline to provide the women with regular updates on the Bosnian crisis. At times, their role is as simple as lending a sympathetic ear "We are doing just fine," insists Deborah Neilson, whose husband, Cpl Christopher Neilson of St Catharines, Ont., was among the Canadians held by the Serbs Military wives, she explained, have to be prepared for difficult times "When I married a soldier," she said, "I also married the army"

Katrin Milner, 29, demonstrated a similar sense of quiet confidence Her husband, Maj Dean Milner, a 33-year-old Winnipeg native, was the highest-ranking Canadian officer held by the Serbs. "I'm dealing with it quite well," she said last week, as her three-year-old daughter, Stephanie, finished coloring a picture she planned to send to her father Nearby, the couple's 15-month-old son, Derek, crawled on the floor of their comfortable bungalow a few blocks from the base Added Milner "It is an emotional time any way you look at it But we all basically just try to stick together and keep each other's spirits up"

Only hours earlier, Milner had received the first direct communication from her husband since he and the other Canadians were detained on Nov 23—a bandwritten fax from the Bosnian town of Ilijas "How are you guys doing?" it read "Everything is going well over here" The major sent along "big hugs and kisses" and added that the Serbs were being "good hosts."

Several other wives also received reassuring messages from their spouses. And at week's end, they were cautiously optimistic about the fate of their husbands Among the most anxious was



SCOTT STEELE/MACLEAN'S

Clarke and newborn son: dignified military stoicism

21-year-old Anita Clarke, wife of Cpl Sheldon Clarke of Grand Falls, Nfld. At 9:50 a.m. on Dec 1, after more than a week of "indecisive labor" brought on by the shock of hearing of her husband's captivity, Anita gave birth to the couple's first child, Styles Trevor Ace Clarke (six pounds, 15 ounces). Present for the birth at Pembroke General Hospital was Deborah Neilson and another friend who videotaped the event for Sheldon's later viewing "The baby looks just like his dad," proclaimed Neilson His beaming mother agreed "He has ugly feet, his father's feet," she said with a smile Soon after, Neilson faxed an urgent message to Bosnia for the infant's father On it were the baby's footprints Anita, meanwhile, said she hopes her husband will soon be home to see Styles model an early Christmas gift that Sheldon set aside for him before leaving for Bosnia. It is a tiny T-shirt that reads "My Daddy is a UN peacekeeper."

SCOTT STEELE *in Petawawa*

not a normal police operation. They would investigate a murder, but discover later that their findings had been ignored. They would arrest armed Croatian police who were trying to infiltrate the Turanj camp—only to see the perpetrators released by Croatian superiors. They attempted to stop ethnic expulsions, but their only weapon was the power of persuasion. When refugees began pouring in from Bihac, suddenly they were handing out blankets and delivering food to angry, frustrated people who were anything but grateful.

On Oct. 1, that frustration erupted in a riot in the Turanj camp. UN personnel had come to the camp to deliver a pamphlet from Izetbegovic, which "forgave" the refugees for their loyalty to Abdic. "There was nothing to forgive," said Danka Uzelac. Tempers flared, knives and axes appeared, and CIVPOL had to be called in to rescue the endangered UN workers. "We were totally at their mercy," Seward recalled last week. "There was no way we could use force to get ourselves out."

The atmosphere deteriorated over the following weeks. After NATO jets bombed Serbian targets, the Mounties were among those who paid the price. In the town of Plaski near the Bihac pocket, CIVPOL Commander Roberts and his staff were confined to their station for three days. "I was a POW," said Roberts as he prepared to fly home to Ottawa last week. "I lay on the floor at night thinking that I might never see my kids again." Roberts eventually led his staff to the relative safety of the Polish battalion's camp. The Serbs then moved in and stole the station's generator, office equipment and maps. "The Serbs were nice to us when times were fine," said Roberts. "But I had no doubt that if the order came down to kill us, they would have. They were kamikazes, and they had no respect for us."

Perhaps, away from the spot light on the Bihac enclave, the United Nations is still doing some good in Bosnia. "The humanitarian mission says that we are still feeding three million people," a frustrated Maj.-Gen. Crabbe said last week. As for the politicians who have put their soldiers, police and civilians in the former Yugoslavia in the name of the United Nations, they have paid little heed to the risks—until the possibility that large numbers of bodies would come home in bags turned Bosnia into a domestic political problem.

But the world is going to have to drastically lower its expectations of what the United Nations can do. It is not equipped to make peace. And there is no sign of a permanent peace or even a ceasefire in Bosnia. As UNPROFOR struggled to get negotiations under way again last week, the people with the guns were not finished fighting. On the contrary, the Serbs were busing in teenage boys and girls from the Turanj camp to help at the battlefront. About 3,000 adult male refugees had already left to take up arms against the Muslim V Corps. "They got tired of waiting here doing nothing," said Uzelac. "They have gone to liberate their homes." And a Serbian military liaison officer had a message last week for the people in the Turanj camp who had been driven from Bihac by the Bosnian army. "You'll be home by the end of the month," he promised. □



CHRIS HEGREN/REUTER

Canadian combat engineers in Visoka: plan to reinforce peacekeeping

REVAMPING THE ARMY

As tensions grew last week for Canada's 2,000 peacekeepers in the former Yugoslavia, Defence Minister David Collenette faced a dilemma of his own. On Nov. 29, the Liberal cabinet approved a long-promised white paper on defence priorities—but left the timing of the report's release to the minister. Collenette's plan was to present the 50-page document on Dec. 8. But with the crisis in Bosnia escalating almost daily, the government was anxious to bolster Canada's case for increased influence in European decision-making in the war-torn region. Also, there were fears that doves in the party, including Human Resources Minister Lloyd Axworthy, might object to the white paper's proposals to strengthen Canada's fighting capabilities. Those developments forced the defence minister's hand. Said Collenette: "We had a good message and we decided to go with it."

As promised in last year's election campaign, the Liberals intend to change the very structure of Canada's bureaucracy-laden military. The new policy, the first since the end of the Cold War, reinforces Canada's peacekeeping capabilities by bolstering the army at the expense of the air force. And it settles the simmering debate over Canada's involvement with NATO and NORAD: the Liberals say that as long as they are in power, Canada will remain in both international security bodies. But defence has not escaped the financial hatchet: at least $15 billion is to be slashed from capital expenditures by 2009, while the regular force is reduced to 60,000 personnel from 74,900 by 1999. Further cuts are expected in next February's budget. As Chief of Defence Staff Gen. John de Chastelain said last week: "The question is how to get a bigger bang for our buck."

Among the government's key objectives:

- Reducing the reserve force to 23,000 from 29,000, and the civilian workforce to 20,000 from 33,000, by 1999.
- Purchasing new armored personnel carriers to replace the aging fleet now in Bosnia, with delivery to begin by 1997.
- Increasing the army's combat-capable force to 10,000 from 7,000 to create a larger pool of personnel available for UN duties.
- Replacing Canada's outdated fleet of Sea King and Labrador helicopters with 30 new shipborne helicopters and 15 search-and-rescue helicopters, at a total projected cost of less than $3 billion. Only a year ago, the Liberals cancelled the former Tory government's planned $4.8-billion purchase of 43 EH-101 helicopters, arguing that the job could be done with less expensive machines.
- Scrapping 80 CF-5 fighter aircraft, and scaling back the fleet of CF-18s from 72 operational aircraft to between 48 and 60.

Even with those changes, the military's woes are not over. Noting last week that the department has suffered budget cuts in each of the past six years, de Chastelain dryly declared: "I learned a long time ago never to draw lines in the sand." He added that there was "relief" in military ranks "that they will still be a fighting force, that they are not to become some kind of gendarmerie." Still, as York University defence analyst Martin Shadwick commented: "This is as small as you can get and still be able to declare that you want a multipurpose combat force."

LUKE FISHER *with E. KAYE FULTON in Ottawa*



TRAGIC ERRORS



CHRIS SCHWARZ/MACLEAN'S

As chief of staff of a 31-nation peacekeeping force, then as commander of the UN mission operating the airport in the besieged Bosnian capital of Sarajevo in 1992, Canada's Maj.-Gen. Lewis MacKenzie was frequently a thorn in the side of the UN leadership. While refraining from criticizing the world body publicly, he complained frankly to the organization about its definition of the missions. And on his return to Canada late that year—and his subsequent retirement from the Canadian Forces—MacKenzie became an outspoken critic of the way the peacekeeping mission in the former Yugoslavia was established and maintained. He also tried to dissuade the United States from launching air strikes against Serbian forces in Bosnia. Now a senior research fellow at the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies in Toronto, MacKenzie wrote this analysis of the disintegrating Bosnian situation for Maclean's

Last week, as the Bosnian Serb army tightened its noose around the Bihac pocket, condemnation of the United Nation's inability to protect the civilian Muslim population filled the airwaves and the editorial pages around the world. Some people, like the designated U.S. Senate majority leader Robert Dole, called for the United Nations to get out of Bosnia altogether so the Bosnian army, aided by NATO air strikes and armed by the United States, could go on the offensive and defeat the Bosnian Serbs.

What has happened in Bosnia over the past 33 months might not be the United Nations' *best* example of a disaster resulting from ill-conceived and inadequately supported international diplomacy, but it is certainly a strong contender for the Top 10 list. If we are unhappy with what is happening in Bosnia (and who isn't?), and we want to try to ensure that we don't make the same mistakes again, it is probably worthwhile to look over our shoulder and see how we got here.

Shortly after the West "won" the Cold War, and while we were still patting ourselves on the back, a significant number of the countries in the world imploded. Yugoslavia was one of them. With the encouragement of the European Community, Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence in June, 1991, and in July the Yugoslavian National Army (JNA) attacked into areas of Croatia primarily occupied by Serb nationals, citing concerns for the safety of Croatia's Serbian minority. All hell broke loose. In November, 1991, however, the U.S. elder statesman Cyrus Vance, acting for the UN secretary general, managed to broker a ceasefire.

The Vance Plan was to see 14,000 UN peacekeeping troops positioned in the Serbian-occupied area of Croatia. Their job would be to protect the occupants of three designated protected areas, primarily Serbs but not exclusively, as Croatian citizens would be encouraged to return to homes from which they had fled in the protected zones. The force was to be called the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Under the Vance Plan, once UNPROFOR was on the ground, the JNA was to withdraw from Croatia to what was left of the ex-Yugoslavia—Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro.

The United Nations can't, and perhaps shouldn't, move at the speed of light. It was March, 1992—a full four months after the Vance Plan was agreed to by Serbia and Croatia—before a small group of officers, myself included, was gathered at UN headquarters in New York City to finalize the plan for putting troops in Croatia's occupied areas. The war had continued during those four months and the front lines had moved.

To our collective surprise, and over our objections, we were ordered to put our headquarters for the Croatian operation in Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital some 300 km forward of our troops. The UN staff explained with little enthusiasm that our presence in Sarajevo might help to keep the lid on things in Bosnia. We were not convinced. Having registered our disappointment, however, we got on with planning the mission, and four days later departed for Sarajevo.

It was a full two years later, while interviewing British peace envoy Lord Carrington for a TV documentary, that I discovered why the United Nations had ordered us to Sarajevo. President Alija Izetbegovic, the elected Muslim leader of Bosnia-Herzegovina, had observed with horror the war in neighboring Croatia. He had every reason to be concerned, as he was under increasing pressure both at home and abroad to seek independence for Bosnia. With a large Serbian minority of approximately 34 per cent in Bosnia, he knew the odds were pretty good that there would be civil war and that Serbia could well become involved on the side of the Bosnian Serbs if the outside world recognized Bosnia's independent status. He turned to the European Community and the United Nations, and behind closed doors asked for a large preventive UN peacekeeping force to be deployed to Bosnia to help him thwart a civil conflict. He hoped this would give him time to sort out the constitutional issues by negotiating with the Bosnian Serbs.

At that very moment, the United Nations was finding it virtually impossible to find the 14,000 troops it needed for the Vance Plan, so it certainly was in no position to source approximately the same number again for Bosnia. It decided to give Izetbegovic a consolation prize—our UNPROFOR headquarters of 300 personnel, mostly officers with no mandate whatsoever to conduct any peacekeeping operations in Bosnia.

UNPROFOR headquarters started to arrive in Sarajevo on March 13, 1992. And as the fighting spread into Bosnia, the European Community recognized that territory's independence on April 7. The majority of Bosnian Serbs rebelled against the prospect of a unitary state dominated by the current Muslim leadership and made their point by turning their heavy guns, inherited from the JNA, on Sarajevo.

Not only did UNPROFOR have no Security Council-sanctioned role in Bosnia, we soon realized that we were spending the majority of our time on our survival, and we couldn't dedicate the time and effort necessary to support our 14,000 troops in Croatia.

After six weeks of helping out where and when we could with regard to humanitarian matters, but still without a mandate from the Security Council, it was decided by the United Nations that we should leave Sarajevo and re-establish our headquarters in Belgrade, the Serbian capital. The European Community's headquarters for its monitoring mission was Zagreb, Croatia, so presumably placing our headquarters in Belgrade would help create the impression of evenhandedness that is so essential in conventional peacekeeping operations—and our mission in Croatia was just that, conventional peacekeeping. (In July, however, after the imposition of international sanctions against Serbia, the headquarters moved to Zagreb, where it has remained.)

Quite frankly, being forced out of Sarajevo was professionally embarrassing, particularly since each kilometre of our withdrawal was covered by the media. It looked like we were abandoning the city because we were afraid. We were mortified and started to plot our return. It did not take long. In June, 1992, the Bosnian Serbs agreed to turn the Sarajevo airport over to the United Nations for the delivery of humanitarian aid—providing the United Nations with its ticket back into the bowels of Bosnia's agony. Once the Security Council was briefed that UNPROFOR had worked out a deal to take over the airport, it was only too ready to agree. This represented the first good news its members had heard from Bosnia in more than six months.

Unfortunately, we made the error of also calling the new UN force in Sarajevo UNPROFOR, because the first contingent of soldiers was provided by the Canadian Van Doo battalion, borrowed from UNPROFOR in Croatia. UNPROFOR was an accurate title for the UN force in Croatia—it was there to provide security for anyone in the three large UN protected zones. But in Sarajevo, the title was misleading to the extreme. The force had no mandate to protect anything—it was simply there to run an airport and deliver humanitarian aid. The United Nations is still living with this unintentionally cruel act of raising unattainable expectations within the primarily Muslim community. A name, particularly a misleading one, can have tremendous impact. With all the best intentions in the world, the United Nations had just taken one tentative step towards a steep and slippery slope.

I left Sarajevo in August, 1992, primarily because the Bosnian government decided that my impartial stance on their conflict was unacceptable, and the United Nations was increasingly unhappy with some

LEWIS MacKENZIE REVIEWS THE HARD LESSONS OF BOSNIA



SIDNEY LIC/AP

Rebel Muslim soldier outside Bihac: a slippery slope

of my sound bites. Shortly thereafter, the United Nations expanded its humanitarian operation to include all of Bosnia under the command of the French Gen. Philippe Morillon—my roommate during the early stages of the war. The force underwent a modest expansion but the United Nations could not find the resources necessary to implement the new mandate over all of Bosnia. Convoys couldn't be protected and were hijacked, UN police couldn't check every convoy, and weapons and ammunition were discovered by Bosnian Serbs in humanitarian convoys heading for Muslim enclaves. The United Nations started to lose its footing and pitched forward directly onto the slippery slope.

As the Bosnian Serbs increased their pressure on the Bosnian Muslims, the UN Security Council, led by France and the United States, declared with great fanfare that "such force as necessary would be used to guarantee the delivery of humanitarian aid, and a number of safe havens would be established to protect the Muslim population." At their request, I briefed the members of the U.S. House of Representatives armed services committee. I explained that to implement the United Nations' new and forceful mandate would require a massive increase in the size of the UN force in Bosnia, particularly if the United Nations was serious about protecting the safe havens. My estimate was an additional 100,000 troops. The new UN commander on the ground, Gen. Francis Briquemont of Belgium, said he would try it with a minimum of 70,000. He received absolutely zero increase during the first few months of the new mandate, ultimately receiving fewer than 1,000 troops to do the work of 70,000 to 100,000. After six months of frustration, he resigned his command, a dejected and broken man.

With the UN Security Council incapable of convincing the General Assembly to provide the troops necessary to protect the safe havens, all we had was a high-profile bluff—and the Bosnian Serbs knew it. The UN Security Council was now accelerating down the slippery slope and—with continuing good intentions but ignoring conventional military wisdom—made a fatal miscalculation.

Until the United Nations came up with the idea of safe havens, the UNPROFOR mission had been strictly humanitarian. Now, incapable of finding the ground troops to protect the safe havens, it subcontracted NATO and threatened air strikes if the havens were attacked. Any self-respecting soldier knew this was a major error, and those that could said no. All the Bosnian Serbs had to do was initiate their attacks a few minutes before dark or during bad weather and NATO aircraft could do little if anything about it. Once the attacking forces were intermixed with the Bosnian army and the civilian population, air strikes were virtually impossible.



CHRIS HIGGENS/REUTER

Canadian Pte. Marc Plouffe guards Sarajevo airport: a ticket into the bowels of Bosnia's agony

'WE HAVE PAID A TERRIBLE PRICE FOR A WAR THAT IS NOT OURS'

If it was decided to take the side of the Bosnian army and strike Bosnian Serb targets in depth, that would certainly write "paid" to the humanitarian mission, and would launch the UN force on the ground into the war as a participant—a war it was not equipped, organized or contracted to fight by the Security Council, of which two members—China and the United States—had no troops on the ground to bear the consequences.

It didn't take a PhD in unconventional warfare to accurately forecast that air strikes would result in UN hostages being taken by the army under attack by NATO aircraft. Once again, an ill-conceived bluff had been called, and by now the slippery slope was pretty well vertical.

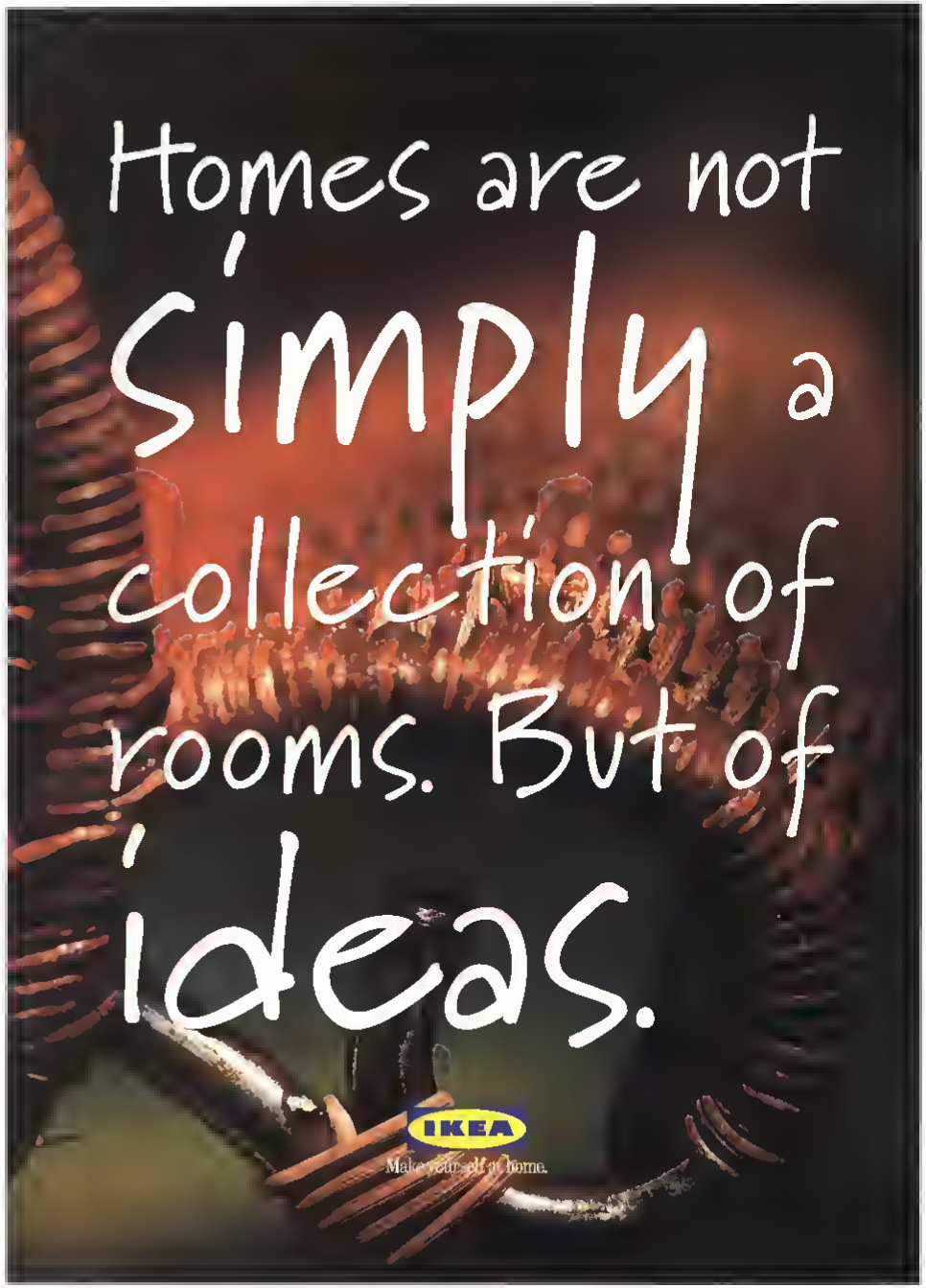
Canada was selected by the Bosnian Serbs to be the prime target of intimidation for strategic reasons. We had been the most outspoken critic of the wisdom of air strikes, and presumably the Bosnian Serbs figured we would be the first to cut and run if we were targeted. If we ran, others would soon follow. The Bosnian Serbs, like many before them, underestimated our resolve.

The United States, in a tragic example of inconsistent foreign policy, started to compound the United Nations' dilemma at every turn, and the Bosnian Serbs revelled in the spectacle. Knowing full well that the UN Security Council would never agree to lifting the arms embargo on all of ex-Yugoslavia, the United States lobbied for such a move, giving false hope to the Bosnian government and perpetuating the false perception of a weaponless Bosnian army. In fact, the arms embargo has been about as effective in stopping arms going into Bosnia as the St. Lawrence River was in stopping cigarette smugglers crossing into Canada.

The Bosnian Serbs fully understood that the United Nations was locked into a Bosnia-wide humanitarian mission that was not compatible with the selected punitive use of force. They called the United Nations' bluff in and around Bihac, and the resulting rift between the United States and its allies, including Canada, was exposed for all to see. Having understandably done little during the early stages of the conflict, the United States, or at least some of the more outspoken hawks in Congress, now gave the impression of wanting to fight to the last Canadian, British or French soldier in the hills of Bosnia.

If the United Nations actually tried to withdraw UNPROFOR to clear the way for NATO bombing, the troops would be blocked at every turn—not only by women and children from all factions in Bosnia who see the United Nations as a shield, albeit a battered one, but also by the Russians in the Security Council.

The diplomatic community, which bears the responsibility for addressing the Bosnian crisis, has not exactly covered itself in glory over the past few years. Thanks primarily to





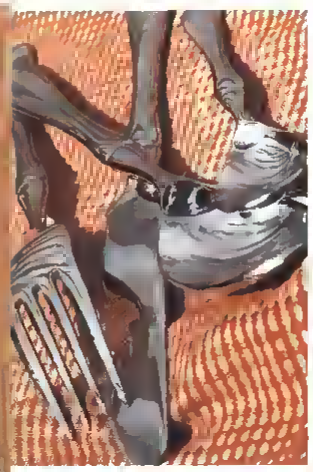


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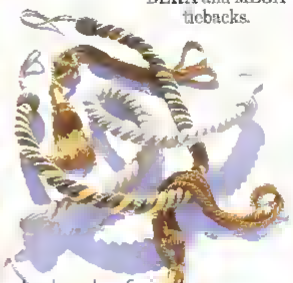
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the American habit of convincing the Bosnian government to hold out for a better deal, and a lack of consistency within the various peace proposals, one side out of the three has always refused to sign. There are many ways to bring diplomatic pressure to bear beyond the threat of intervention or non-intervention in the Bosnian conflict.

I have suggested as strongly as possible to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien that Canada has earned the right, unlike Germany, to be a full-fledged member of the Contact Group on Bosnia (now the United States, Britain, France, Russia and Germany). We should insist on membership and, once at the table, strive to forge a peace proposal that the international community can sell to the belligerents or, if necessary, coerce them into accepting. Ultimately, parts of Bosnia will be linked with either Croatia or Serbia, and Bosnia itself will exist between the two with the capital, as now, in Sarajevo and with guaranteed access to the Adriatic. The sooner we get used to the idea, the sooner the Contact Group can start working as one, with all the resulting persuasive power that would bring to the process. While this process unfolds, UNPROFOR, including Canada, should stay the course and continue to alleviate the suffering of more than two million Bosnian citizens every day.

Ultimately, all sides will have to compromise, and the strongest will compromise less than the weakest—unless we can rewrite history or change human nature, which I doubt very much. The solution to Bosnia's agony will be found through negotiation, not at the point of a gun, particularly one carried by a UN soldier. The diplomatic superpowers must show a little synergy in their efforts and drag the belligerents into extended discussions at the highest level until an acceptable compromise is reached.

We can't go back and start over again in Bosnia. Sometimes I wish we could, but knowing what we know now we might have avoided the slippery slope and opted for the easy missions like Haiti instead. If that was the case, millions of Bosnians would have had to do without the food and medicine that 23,000 much-maligned and underappreciated UNPROFOR soldiers have provided.

To those that say the United Nations and NATO's credibility has been terminally damaged, I say wait until the next nation gets in serious trouble. It will be on bended knees at the United Nations pleading for help before you can count to 10. To those that say that the UN actions in Bosnia send the wrong message to future tin-pot dictators, I say let's deal with them when the time comes, based on what we've learned in Bosnia.


CORINNE DUFKA RESIFE

A wounded Bosnian woman tears a shortcut in an open field.

Canada has been in Bosnia with ground forces from the very beginning, unlike some of our outspoken allies. We have paid a terrible price in death, pain and suffering for a war that is not ours and does not threaten our national interests. It is however our destiny to help others. It's how we pay our dues for our blessings at home and our membership in the international community. The following Canadian soldiers, along with 41 more who [illegible] injured, paid much more than their share in the former Yugoslavia. We must remember their sacrifice, and their families', as we debate the future of our peacekeeping role in the world.

Aug. 17, 1992: Sgt. C. M. Ralph, killed in action
March 25, 1993. Master Cpl. J. W. Ternapolsky, fatal accident
June 18, 1993: Cpl. D. Gunther, killed in action
Aug. 6, 1993: Cpl. J. M. H. Béchard, fatal accident
Aug. 17, 1993: Sgt. J. D. A. Gareau, fatal illness
Sept. 18, 1993: Capt. J. Decoste, fatal accident
Nov. 29, 1993: Cpl. D. Galvin, fatal accident
Nov. 29, 1993. Master Cpl. S. Langevin, fatal accident
June 6, 1994: Pte. K. D. Cooper, fatal accident
June 21, 1994: Cpl. M. R. Isfeld, killed in action

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What makes Canadians tick?

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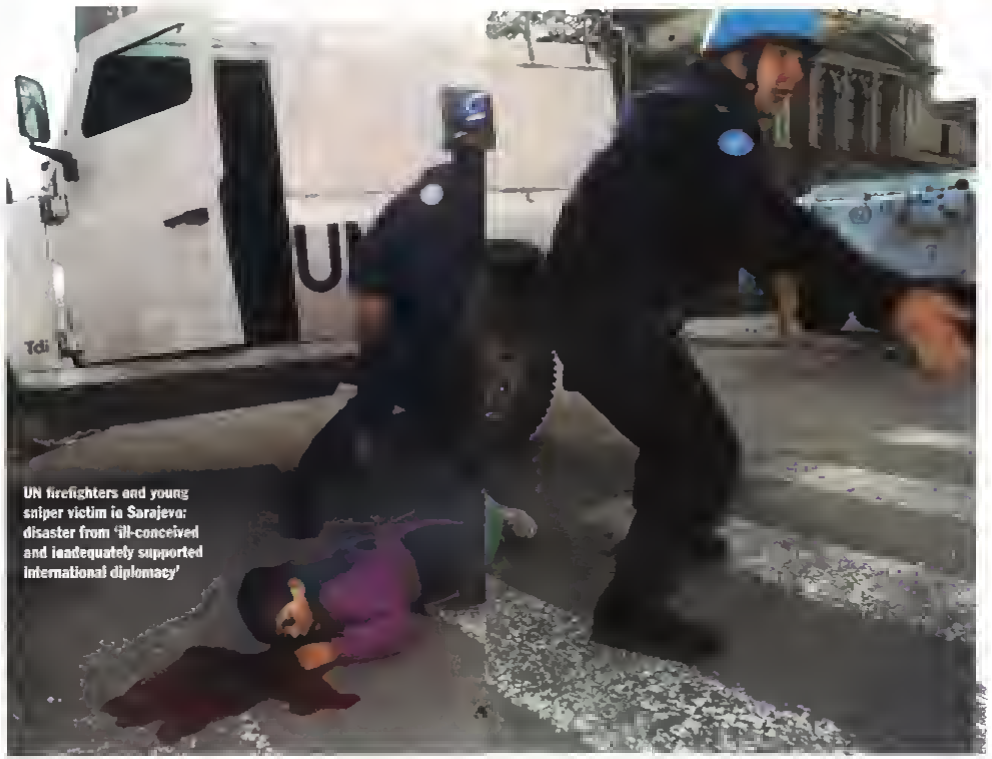
DIPLOMACY ON TRIAL

BOSNIA'S PLIGHT CHALLENGES THE NEW WORLD ORDER



DEAN CHOY/REUTER

A woman grieves her boyfriend, a Bosnian soldier: firefights


UN firefighters and young sniper victim in Sarajevo: disaster from 'ill-conceived and inadequately supported international diplomacy'

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

BY CARL MOLLINS

Four years ago, with the Soviet empire in collapse and Europe newly committed to a charter of continental harmony, the outside world paid little heed to growing hostilities in a remote mountain region of western Yugoslavia. That country itself had signed the charter at a Paris summit of the 35-nation Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on Nov. 21, 1990. But in the Yugoslav republic of Croatia, along an arc of borderland that enclosed neighboring Bosnia's northwest corner, there were early warning signals of civil war. As Croatian nationalism with anti-Serb overtones gathered menacing momentum in 1990, the Serbian community in the frontier region called Krajina ("border" in Serbo-Croatian) rebelled against Croatian plans to snap federal ties to Serbia and secede from Yugoslavia. Four months after the Paris summit, Krajina's quarter-million Serbs seceded from Croatia—and declared their own tiny republic. Yugoslavia sank into its brutal, many sided war.

Last week, as leaders of Europe, Canada and the United States prepared for another European security summit—in the Hungarian capital of Budapest this week, almost next door to the warfare—the Krajina Serbs captured outside attention. In alliance with Bosnian Serb forces besieging the town of Bihac, they defied the European Union, U.S. threats, NATO air power and the United Nations. In a counterattack against Bosnian Muslim forces who captured the area in an October offensive, the Serbs, some operating from bases in their own UN-protected zone in Krajina, penetrated the United Nations' Bihac "safe haven" for civilians. Meanwhile, Bosnian Serbs crossed the international border between Croatia and Bosnia the other way, seizing a UN observation post on the Krajina side and taking its Ukrainian peacekeepers back across the frontier. Their offensive stirred the Croatian army into action. Scores of firefights broke a ceasefire in Croatia.

At week's end, diplomats were once again pressing ceasefire talks on Serb, Muslim and Croat factions. They sought the release of hundreds of UN soldiers, including 55 Canadians near Sarajevo, held by Serbs as hostages to deter NATO air raids. Diplomats also worked on a truce between Washington and its allies, including Canada, as the United States retreated under allied pressure from demands for punitive action against the Serbs. But the battle for Bihac dramatized the failings of concerted and often conflicting efforts by Europe, the U.S. superpower, the Atlantic alliance and the United Nations to police the new order of peace and humanity proclaimed at the Paris summit.

A bout of finger-pointing over the Yugoslav morass spared few parties. Retired Canadian Maj.-Gen. Lewis MacKenzie, the first UN commander into the fray in March, 1992, faults the influence of politics in the United Nations, and the world body itself for botching the operation—"a disaster resulting from ill-conceived and inadequately supported international diplomacy."

Britain and France, the major contributors of troops to UN forces in the war zone, assailed pressure from the United States—which has no troops on the ground—to release Bosnian Muslims from an arms embargo and to order more air attacks on the Serbs. Only a huge allied army could stop the war, said British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, but "we don't have that [and] we won't have that." Prime Minister Jean Chretien was blunter in a comment to the Paris newspaper *Le Monde*. "The Americans want us to fight down to the last Canadian and the last Frenchman."

But to suggestions in some quarters that UN troops, including the 2,000-plus Canadians deployed there, should abandon the struggle, Chretien told the Commons: "When Canadians say they will do something, they stick to their word. They will serve to the end of their mandate." That commits them at least until March.

Beyond the publicly patched-up bickering among allies are frustrations faced since the end of the Cold War. The major powers have been confronted with daunting tests of their diplomatic, military and peacekeeping skills. Internal factional, tribal and national conflicts—Somalia, Rwanda and Yugoslavia most prominently—have proven intractable in the face of violence inspired by emotions bred by ethnic, religious and political grievances. And unlike most previous UN peacekeeping operations since the late 1940s, the recent missions have been attempted without firm political truce agreements between combatants to make policing peace possible.

Some 15,000 UN military personnel in Somalia—"peacekeepers" unable to keep a peace that did not exist—will abandon that country in stages by the end of March. That will leave the east African territory in the hands of gangs of gunmen who were in charge when UN troops, backed by a massive but ineffectual American army, arrived late in 1992. The humanitarian mission kept famine deaths to an estimated 300,000. But thousands of Somalis have been slaughtered by rival local factions, and 130 UN soldiers died on a mission that cost billions of dollars without political or judicial effect.

The Somali experience, and the bitter memory of the protracted and fruitless American involvement in Vietnam, helped to dissuade the United States and other powers from intervening in Rwanda's murderous interethnic war last spring. The help that arrived in the African war zone was too late and too little, as Canadian Maj.-Gen. Roméo Dallaire discovered leading a puny UN force in that maelstrom. And in Haiti, only after months of hesitation and policy lurches, and finally a negotiated settlement to enforce, did U.S. President Bill Clinton order American troops into the Caribbean island in September to ensure a peaceful transition of power.

While the fighting in the former Yugoslavia is horrible, said Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute research centre in Washington, "it is no worse than that in Afghanistan, Angola, Armenia, Georgia, Liberia, Somalia, Sudan, Tajikistan and elsewhere. What makes the former Yugoslavia unique is that white Europeans are killing each other, guaranteeing a level of media attention and popular concern denied to dead Muslims in Transcaucasus and black animists in Africa."

Despite such shortcomings, and the failures and dangers of peacekeeping efforts, many analysts conclude that the world community has little option but to persist in efforts to maintain or restore peace when conflict erupts. There may be practical and tactical reasons for that even among combatants who gain the upper hand and regard foreign intervention as an impediment to victory. In Bosnia, where many observers last week conceded a battlefield triumph to the Serbs, their leaders may well be as eager as the Bosnian Muslims for the UN force to stay put, said Lenard Cohen, an expert in the politics of the region at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C. "The Serbs know that if the United Nations leaves, there is nothing to protect them from U.S. air strikes," he said.

And in a wider context, UN peacekeeping faces public expectations that may always be too high, said Martin Shadwick, a defence specialist at York University in Toronto. "Perhaps we've asked too much of it as a panacea— that the blue berets can work miracles," he said. Shadwick and other experts note that previous UN operations have not always been crowned in glory. Said Barry Ashton, chief of staff for plans and operations at National Defence headquarters in Ottawa: "UN peacekeeping has never been a perfect art form, but it's the best hope we've got for the peaceful solution of problems."

Many American officials and commentators are unconvinced of that argument, especially after the costly and humiliating U.S. experience in Somalia. And American analysts contend that the Bosnia peace effort, in its failure to exert heavy military and diplomatic pressure on Serbian forces, has tilted the tactical advantage in their favor. Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was president Jimmy Carter's national security adviser in the late 1970s, expressed a common view. "I am afraid that what Bosnia shows is the inability of Europe to act and the failure of America to lead," he said.

Such emphasis on forceful direct action to achieve objectives, including peace, dominated U.S. media opinion as Serbian troops closed in on Bihac. Columns in *The New York Times* by liberal Anthony Lewis and conservative William Safire each assailed the British UN commander in Bosnia, Lt.-Gen. Sir Michael Rose, for refusing to use NATO air power against the Serbs at Bihac—Lewis for "his indifference to Serbian aggression," Safire for proving that "as a vehicle for a concerted military response to an aggressor or a violator of human rights, the United Nations is useless."

Rose responded to American criticism in a satellite interview on PBS television, pointing out that "we are not here to fight a war." He added that "the countries that sent their troops here have done so voluntarily, and they want to see their peacekeepers back." He declared that "the United Nations Protection Force is making history; some of the criticisms, I think, will end up in the rubbish dump." Noting that his operation enables relief workers to deliver food to tens of thousands of civilians, Rose insisted that the UN program has been "a successful policy in terms of sustaining the lives of the people." And for a population beset by a bloodthirsty war, that alone may make the UN peace operation well worthwhile.

With WARREN CARAGATA in Ottawa

GRAND ILLUSION



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World NOTES

WORLD TRADE PACT

The U.S. Congress approved the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the first of the four top trading powers to ratify the deal. Japanese parliamentarians quickly followed suit, while Canada and the European Union have pledged to approve the deal before year's end. Eventually, some 145 countries are expected to be linked by the treaty, which will slash tariffs worldwide by more than one-third and liberalize markets.

A PLACE AT THE TABLE

British Prime Minister John Major invited Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, to peace talks this week in Belfast. The talks, aimed at securing a place for Sinn Fein at all-party discussions on Northern Ireland's future, are a reward for a ceasefire that IRA guerrillas declared in their 25-year war to end British rule in the province.

SPIRITUAL LEADER DIES

Some 100 million Shiite Muslims around the world mourned the death of their spiritual leader, Grand Ayatollah Ali Araki, who died in a Tehran hospital at the age of 100. State-run media immediately launched a campaign to name Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the spiritual leader of Iran's Shiites, as Araki's successor.

HEIDI FOUND GUILTY

A Los Angeles jury convicted so-called Hollywood Madam Heidi Fleiss on three counts of pandering, but acquitted her of possessing cocaine for sale. The prosecution claimed Fleiss, the 28-year-old daughter of a prominent Beverly Hills doctor, ran a call-girl ring catering to Hollywood's rich and famous.

NO TO EUROPEAN UNION

Norwegian voters rejected membership in the European Union. The results of the Nov. 28 referendum mean that oil-rich Norway will remain with Iceland, Liechtenstein and Switzerland as the only Western European nations outside the Brussels-based bloc.

A GRIM ANNIVERSARY

Police in India arrested 11,000 people headed towards Bhopal for a demonstration marking the 10th anniversary of the world's worst industrial accident. On Dec. 2, 1984, a cloud of toxic chemicals leaked from a pesticide plant owned by the Indian subsidiary of Union Carbide Corp. About 4,000 people died that night, and 3,000 more deaths were later attributed to the effects of the gas. Some 500,000 people are still seeking compensation.



MAYDAY!: A fire aboard the Italian cruise liner Achille Lauro caused the deaths of two people and forced 977 passengers and crew to abandon the listing ship 100 miles off the coast of Somalia. The ship was on a 21-day cruise from Genoa, Italy, to Durban, South Africa, when the blaze broke out as late-night revellers lingered at a formal ball. Palestinian terrorists seized the Achille Lauro in 1985 in the Mediterranean and killed passenger Leon Klinghoffer, 69, a wheelchair-bound American Jew

A Russian powder keg

The breakaway republic of Chechnya braced itself for an imminent invasion by Russian troops after a ceasefire deadline set by the Kremlin expired. For three days in a row last week, unidentified planes bombed airstrips on the outskirts of Grozny, the capital. And journalists in the North Ossetian city of Vladikavkaz, which is close to Chechnya on Russia's southern run, reported seeing dozens of Russian military planes unloading servicemen and equipment. Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev told women and children to evacuate the capital.

Chechnya, a mostly Muslim region of one million people between the Black and Caspian seas, declared its independence from Russia in 1991. Until August, Moscow had effectively given Dudayev, an air force general and Afghan war veteran, free rein to run the tiny mountain republic. Then, accusing him of destabilizing all of Russia's north Caucasus, the Kremlin gave moral and financial support to the Provisional Council set up to topple Dudayev. In fact, many captured rebels have allegedly admitted that they are Russian, either mercenaries or on loan from the Russian army.

Moscow has denied any part in the fighting. And after first threatening to impose a state of emergency in Chechnya if both sides did not stop fighting, late last week Russian President Boris Yeltsin tried a different tack. He offered limited amnesty to Chechens who "voluntarily lay down arms by Dec. 15," and dispatched a delegation to Grozny to talk with Chechen officials. The hope is that negotiation can snuff out a burning fuse that threatens to ignite the entire Caucasus.

CORPORATE CULTURE CLUB

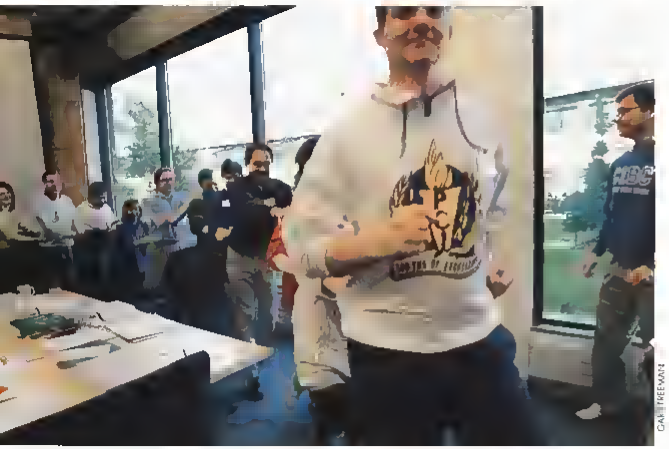
Companies are focusing on employee morale and training to boost the bottom line

BY D'ARCY JENISH

Some strange things are happening in Canada's corporate sector these days. At least twice a month, the chairman of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC), Al Flood, participates in bear pit question-and-answer sessions with mid-level managers. In Hamilton, steel-maker Dofasco Inc. is currently putting its entire workforce of 7,000 through a staff development course that involves, among other things, climbing telephone poles and walking tightropes. At Chrysler Canada Ltd.'s minivan plant in Windsor, Ont., unionized workers are teaching quality-awareness programs to managers. Truck drivers for Cadet Uniform Services in Toronto are now empowered to generate new business. And last fall, a dozen Alberta Government Telephones (AGT) executives spent a day in a simulated search and rescue of the victims of an airline crash. Although their approaches differ widely, these companies are all part of a broad and growing corporate quality movement that is redefining the role of workers from the factory floor to the president's office.

SPECIAL REPORT

Even as profits soar, exports surge and the economy ticks along at a brisk pace, dozens of companies are in the midst of reinventing their corporate cultures. They are attempting to deliver better products, to motivate their employees and to make their entire organizations more responsive to the customer. According to many executives, these changes are being driven by the rise of global competition, the rapid pace of technological change and the searing recession of the early 1990s that led to the elimination of thousands of jobs. Most managers are trying to increase output with fewer workers, and that has meant giving employees, from bank tellers to auto assembly workers, more responsibility and greater decision-making authority. "We had to come down from our ivory tower and learn how to listen," says Chrysler Canada president Yves Landry. "We have lived through a quiet revolution in our ways of thinking and doing things."



GAIL FREEMAN

Loosening up at the CIBC Leadership Centre outside Toronto: empowerment

While most executives prefer to talk about transformations, rather than revolutions, they agree that the burgeoning corporate quality movement is based on fundamentally new ideas about how to reshape an organization. Many senior managers believe that the key to producing better products or improving their customer service is to work on the attitudes of employees and their approaches to work. "Companies now realize the employee is their most important asset," says Jeanne Meister, president of the New York City-based management consulting firm Quality Dynamics, Inc.

In the United States, this shift in thinking has led to the proliferation of company-owned employee training and development centres, which are often called corporate universities. Meister, who earlier this year published a book titled *Corporate Quality Universities*, estimates that 1,200 U.S. companies have now invested in such facilities. Employees from a cross-section of corporate America now attend training seminars and take professional development courses at institutes such as Disney University in Lake Buena Vista, Fla., or the Ford Heavy Truck University in Detroit.

So far, only a handful of Canadian companies have embraced this idea, and made the capital investment required to build or acquire such facilities. In June, 1992, CIBC purchased a former luxury health spa, located less than an hour's drive from downtown Toronto, and turned it into a leadership and development centre for all levels of employees (page 44). Last May, the Bank of Montreal opened a lavish $40-million institute of Learning in suburban Toronto, complete with an upscale 150-room residence.

Both banks still teach their employees technical skills such as assessing and managing risk, which are required to work in the financial services industry. But they are also attempting to turn employees at every level into what they call "continuous learners," who are capable of recognizing and adapting to changes in customer demands, technology, economic conditions and competitive threats. "A learning organization reacts much more quickly to dramatic change than a non-learning organization," says James Rush, senior vice-president and executive director of the Bank of Montreal's institute. "If we can unleash the creativity and knowledge of our workers, we will be able to weather the storms."



CHRIS SCHWARZ/MACLEAN'S

Domenic Casbarro of Cadet Uniform Services: responsible for profit

Other Canadian companies are attempting to rejuvenate their workforces after sometimes painful and dramatic staff reductions. Since 1990, Dofasco has slashed its payroll to 7,000 workers from 12,000 through attrition, early retirements and layoffs. Unprofitable operations were sold off or shut down, and the company reduced its management personnel to five layers from up to 12 in some areas. The changes, senior managers admit, were devastating for morale. "There was a lot of distrust, especially between management and workers on the floor," says David Zaporzon, general manager of Dofasco's finished steel division.

Like many other companies, Dofasco hired an outside management consulting firm, Minneapolis-based Pecos River Learning Centers, to help improve the working atmosphere throughout the company. Since June, 1993, the steel-maker has been sending groups of 70 employees on three-day courses at a ski resort 165 km north of Hamilton. On the first day, employees are split into small groups to participate in outdoor exercises aimed at team building. In one exercise, each team member takes a turn standing on a platform, which is seven to eight feet off the ground, and free falls backwards into the arms of fellow teammates below. Sharon Taylor, a secretary at Dofasco who recently completed the program, said that it encourages communication with fellow workers. "There were a couple of guys in my group who had worked side by side for 17 years and hadn't spoken to each other," she said. "They resolved a situation they'd never been able to deal with. Afterward, they apologized and embraced."

Such exercises have become a popular and innovative tool among management consultants who are attempting to teach team building, and they can take very unusual forms. In October, 1993, a group of senior executives with Edmonton-based AGT participated in a three-day management development course held at the luxurious Maximum West Corporate Retreat Centre, 75 km southwest of Calgary. The highlight for many was a simulated search and rescue mission in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. "I found it a compelling learning experience," says Eric Breitkrutz, AGT's vice-president of human resources. "The lesson was that you can't do everything yourself. It was a really good exercise in team building."

While many executives have only begun to work on their corporate culture, others are already declaring that their programs have been highly successful. Landry notes that Chrysler turned out a company record 643,000 vehicles at its three Canadian vehicle assembly plants last year, and added a third shift of 1,000 workers at the Windsor minivan plant. For the first eight months of 1994, he adds, Chrysler produced more vehicles in Canada than any other automaker. He attributes much of the company's improved performance to the "quiet revolution" that began in the late 1980s, and led to a sharp reduction in the number of shop floor supervisors, greater autonomy for the workers, as well as a streamlined design process.

Although representatives of the Canadian Auto Workers union concede that significant changes have occurred at the Chrysler plants, they are considerably less exuberant about them than Landry. Ken Lewenza, president of a Windsor area local, said that a key change has been to transfer responsibility for monitoring and resolving quality problems at the minivan and truck plants from management employees to teams of unionized workers. But he said that the union is resisting company efforts to establish Japanese-style cells of assembly workers because of concerns that the concept could lead to job losses through increased efficiency.

Some management consultants warn that, when it comes to changing a corporate culture, money and the best of intentions are no guarantees of success. Above all, managers must sell their ideas to employees. "They can't just stand in front of people and say they want them to have a good attitude and be excited," says Pecos River president Elizabeth Wilson. "Quality is really a mind set." Otherwise, the alternatives can be a costly failure—and a company full of jaded workers. □

CAMP COLLEGIALITY

One bank takes its employees into the hills in hopes that they will change their ways

SPECIAL REPORT

The topic of conversation at lunch is the past—specifically, the way things used to be done at the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce. Seven men and women, mostly in their late 30s or early 40s, are seated around a table enjoying quiche, salad and mineral water. They have all worked at CIBC for at least 15 years, and some have been there long enough to recall the days when every branch manager kept a pistol in his desk drawer in case of a holdup. They remember when sexual harassment of female employees was commonplace and when a job at the bank was a job for life. They also recall distant, authoritarian branch managers. "One guy had a light installed outside his office," chuckles Elliott Dary, 43, who manages a Winnipeg branch, "and you couldn't go in when it was on. In those days the manager was God."

The conversation is lively and sprinkled with laughter. But this is a working lunch for Dary and his colleagues. They, along with about 40 other employees from all levels at the bank's domestic and international operations, are taking a one-week management development course at the CIBC Leadership Centre, a former luxury health spa, located in rolling, wooded countryside 30 km north of Toronto. The bank purchased the complex for an undisclosed amount in June, 1992, and converted it into a training facility as part of a comprehensive strategy aimed at creating a new corporate culture. "We had too much administration and bureaucracy," says CIBC chairman Al Flood. "We're trying to be entrepreneurial because there are dramatic changes occurring in our industry."

Retail banking is being reshaped by several potent forces, including new information technology and the increasing sophistication of the customer. Many clients now use automated teller machines for routine transactions like deposits and withdrawals, but they expect customer service representatives to provide advice about products such as mutual funds and term deposits. "A major percentage of the population today is very knowledgeable about the financial markets," says Flood. "Our customers are looking for advice, whether it's to create wealth or maintain wealth."

By any yardstick, CIBC is attempting to make an enormous change. For one thing, the bank is striving for better results with fewer employees. Over the past five years, CIBC, Canada's second-largest financial institution, has trimmed its combined full-time and part-time workforce to 40,807 from 43,000 through layoffs, early retirements and attrition—a dramatic development in an industry with a tradition of lifetime job security. "These changes are creating a lot of stress within the ranks," says Hugh Brown, bank analyst with the Toronto-based investment firm Nesbitt Burns. "But I believe what they're trying to do is the right thing."

Senior executives are asking employees at every level to think more creatively and work together more effectively. Like most financial institutions, CIBC has been a hierarchical organization run from the top. Managers made decisions and directed their employees. The old bank was a pyramid-shaped organization, with the chairman at the top, executives and managers in the middle, and thousands of branch-level loans officers and tellers, now called customer service representatives, at the bottom. In the new bank, that tradition is supposed to be inverted. Managers, from the branch level right to the chairman, are being asked to support the front-line employees who deal directly with customers. Furthermore, CIBC is spending about $50 million a year on staff development to ensure these changes happen.

In part, the bank is trying to nurture its new culture through one-week managerial-level courses offered at the leadership centre, which ranks as one of the most sumptuous corporate training centres in the country. When it was known as the King Ranch Health Spa and Fitness Resort, affluent guests paid up to $1,700 for 10-day sport and fitness holidays. But after the $45-million spa went bankrupt in 1991, CIBC saw the facility as an ideal employee retreat. "We recognized that to work on the culture required a great deal of reflection," says Michele Darling, the bank's executive vice-president of human resources. "Employees would need to get away from day-to-day business to examine themselves and the work they do."

On most Sunday nights, Elliott Dary is home in Winnipeg preparing for work at the suburban branch he manages. On this autumn Sunday evening, however, he is participating in the introductory session of the bank's five-day Foundations of Leadership course, along with 60 fellow employees from across Canada, the United States, the Caribbean and Great Britain.

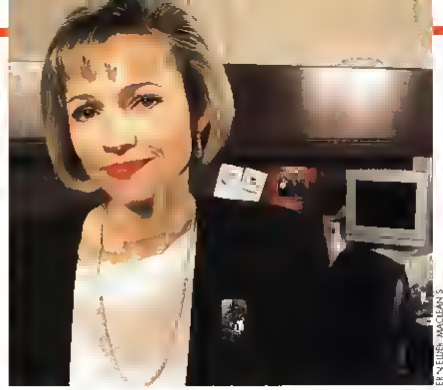
The session opens with an address from Marc Gian, a Montreal-based human-resources and organization development consultant and one of the four facilitators who will lead the employees through the course. The 45-year-old Gian speaks with a slight French accent and a reverential tone. The bank is an "organization in transformation," he says, adding that "we transform an organization by transforming ourselves." Change requires self-evaluation and increased self-awareness. "This is your chance to look at yourself and the fundamental assumptions behind your actions," he says. "This is a week of exploration."

Gian's gentle approach contrasts sharply with Hubert Saint Onge's energetic explanation of the new corporate culture on Monday morning. Saint-Onge, 43, a fluently bilingual francophone and CIBC vice-president in charge of the leadership centre, speaks for an hour without notes. "If managers do not change, the organization will not change," he says, "because each one of you has more impact on your employees than you will ever imagine."

The serious self-exploration begins after lunch. Each participant receives the results of a questionnaire that fellow employees filled out prior to their arrival. It contains 16 questions and grades the manager's ability to listen to co-workers, share information and delegate decision-making power. The results are compiled and averaged so that the manager cannot determine how his peers responded, but he can see how his boss graded him. "Remember, this is a gift," says Gian. "Feedback from your colleagues is always a gift."

"Yeah, it's a gift we can't return," quips one participant.

"I need a Scotch," says another.



ERNEST MACLEAN'S

Darling: the 'need to get away from day-to-day business to examine themselves'

"What are the risks in openness and candor?" Gian asks rhetorically. "I strongly urge you to talk to your subordinates about the assessments when you get back."

The questionnaires have an immediate effect. For several minutes, there is silence, and the participants resemble schoolchildren scanning their report cards. Gian gently breaks their concentration to offer private counselling in a side room, if anyone is having difficulty accepting the results. Nobody takes him up on it, but leadership centre employees say that counselling is occasionally required. "Sometimes, these questionnaires are a real shock," says Brenda Augustin, a CIBC human resources consultant. "We've seen people get real negative feedback."

In an interview in her spacious and tidy fifth-floor office at CIBC's downtown Toronto headquarters, Michele Darling emphasizes that she is a human-resources professional rather than a banker. She joined CIBC in November, 1990, as a vice-president, after holding senior positions with companies such as Consumers Gas and General Foods. But wherever she works, Darling has a mandate to shake things up. "I've always been an agent of internal change," she says. "I've usually been hired to bring about fairly profound cultural change. But this is by far the most complex initiative I've ever been involved in."

One of the tools for transforming the culture at CIBC is competency modelling. The human-resources department has compiled lists of technical skills, personal attributes and professional capabilities required to perform every single position at the bank. They have used these so-called competencies to develop questionnaires for each position so that employees can rate themselves. As of September, about 35,000 full- and part-time employees up to the vice-presidential level had completed the questionnaires and reviewed them with their superiors.

On Thursday afternoon, near the end of the five-day Foundations of Leadership course, the participants are ready for a session called "action learning." Facilitator Louise Macdonald asks someone to present a real business problem. The rest of the group is supposed to pose questions that will lead their colleague to realize that the solution lies within his grasp. The objective, she explains, is to empower rather than direct the employee.

"John Smith," whose identity must be concealed because of the nature of his problem, says that one of his employees has been producing substandard work for 18 months. Smith is convinced the employee is incompetent, but is reluctant to fire him. His story prompts numerous questions, mostly about the problem employee. Then Macdonald intervenes. She tells them to focus their questions on Smith to find out why he has been unable to act. After a 30-minute grilling, in which he reveals everything he has done, and not done, Smith seems genuinely relieved. "It really has gone too far," he tells the group. "It's a termination situation, and I've got to let the person know that."

For this group of CIBC employees, the culmination of their week at the leadership centre is a two-hour question-and-answer session with Flood. The questions sound tame, but as Flood responds, a fresh image emerges. The chairman has abandoned, temporarily at least, the power and prestige that comes with his office. He is out on the floor trying to sell, rather than direct, his employees on a new way of running the business. He tells them that he wants to create a dynamic organization. He says he wants to remove the fear that exists in the organization, and he tells them to tolerate mistakes, especially from employees who are showing initiative.

From the conversations that occur in the corridors afterward, it is apparent that some employees remain concerned about the bank's long-term commitment to the new ideas and how they can be put into practice. But their week at the leadership centre appears to have been a rejuvenating experience. "It was really challenging," Dary said before his flight home to Winnipeg. "It makes you look at things from different perspectives, and forces you to do a lot of introspection." In some professions, that might not be unusual. But in banking, a business long bound by traditions and encumbered by rules, it may be the starting point for a cultural revolution.

D'ARCY JENISH



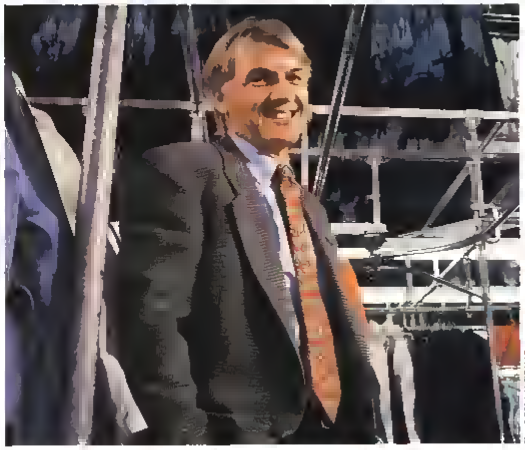
GARY HEBBARN

Employees at a CIBC training retreat: fewer and better

CLEANING UP

Cadet Uniform uses teamwork and motivation to dominate its niche in the dry-cleaning sector

Domenic Casbarro is sure of one thing. He loves his job. Casbarro, 43, has worked for Toronto-based Cadet Uniform Services Ltd., primarily as a customer service representative, since coming to Canada from Italy in the mid-1970s. By 7 a.m. most days, he is pulling out of a Cadet plant in a bright orange van loaded with hundreds of uniforms destined for firms ranging from multinational automakers to small food processors. But Casbarro and his fellow customer service representatives do more than just deliver uniforms. They are expected to be part-time salesmen and full-time diplomats. And their salaries—averaging $53,000 annually—are based almost entirely on customer satisfaction, which Cadet carefully monitors, and the amount of income they generate from their routes. By contrast, drivers at most competing companies work for union-negotiated wages, averaging about $26,000. "The more money Cadet makes, the more I make," says Casbarro. "And I never get bored because I have lots of freedom."



FRANK FLOOR/MACLEAN'S

Cadet's Wahl: improving the quality of the product to survive

In the cleaning business, better known for its low pay and high turnover, Casbarro's situation is an unusual one. But over the past decade, Cadet Uniform has earned a reputation for innovation, and in 1992 it was one of five companies to receive a certificate of merit under the federally sponsored Canadian Awards for Business Excellence. According to Cadet founder and president Quentin Wahl, a 47-year-old native of New York state who climbs mountains and runs marathons in his spare time, Cadet's major innovation has been its focus on motivating its "team members," Cadet's preferred term for company employees. The result, he says, has been higher productivity, fewer mistakes, and loyal customers. Equally important, Cadet, with a staff of 225 workers in two Toronto plants and annual sales of $30 million, has enjoyed double-digit revenue growth in each of the past three years. "You have to improve the quality of your product to survive," Wahl says. "There's not a company in Canada today throwing money around just because they have it."

Cadet's focus on employee motivation, combined with a program aimed at improving quality, has put Cadet at the forefront of the $300-million-a-year uniform-cleaning business in Canada, according to Wahl. The company has lower per unit costs than most of its competitors, often eight to 10 per cent lower, and a customer retention rate of 99 per cent, the highest in the industry.

Many of Wahl's ideas—and much of Cadet's success—are based on a lesson he learned from a friend while studying at the University of Miami. "He had a job with a major uniform cleaning service, and he'd go around to customers all day and fix the mistakes other people had made the previous day," he recalls. "I said, 'That's unbelievable.' Then he told me they had five or six guys doing that." In 1968, Wahl launched a retail dry-cleaning company in Toronto called Cadet Cleaners. Operating with the slogan, "We do it right the first time, every time," it grew to 120 stores before he sold it in 1991. Then, in 1974, he formed his uniform cleaning firm to exclusively serve commercial and industrial clients. His business card still carries the same slogan.

Living up to that guarantee proved to be more difficult than he anticipated, especially when cleaning company uniforms. Mistakes are commonplace in a business that involves cleaning and sorting thousands of similar looking garments every day, and shipping them back to hundreds of different customers. Wahl recalls complaints about uniforms that went out with company and employee name plates upside down. Cadet also orders the garments and ships them to clients, so it suffers when a uniform manufacturer makes mistakes. On one occasion, customers received shirts with two left sleeves. And there was another case where pants labelled size 38 actually were size 32.

As a result of experiences like that, Wahl launched a quality improvement program in the early 1980s and the results are now evident. The company spent several years—and several million dollars—developing a bar-code device similar to those used at supermarket checkout counters. Every garment now bears a fabric label, which can be scanned to establish the names of employees and the companies they work for. Now, while Cadet processes about 400,000 pieces of clothing per week, only three to six go missing, Wahl claims.

Most of Cadet management's emphasis has been placed on working with employees. Wahl posts figures on sales, costs and growth on workplace bulletin boards because he believes that sharing information about the company leads to a more committed workforce. He invites a couple of dozen "team members" from various departments to the boardroom for a monthly operations review meeting. Cadet has something called an "error cause removal" system, similar to a traditional suggestion box, and each week it brings in 15 to 20 ideas for improving various operations. The company also eliminated about a dozen parking spots to create an outdoor lunch area at one of its plants. During the summer, Wahl and executive vice-president Arnold Gedmintas frequently hold staff barbecues at noon on Friday, cooking burgers for the staff and encouraging informal discussions.

Cadet has an employee turnover rate of about seven per cent a year, whereas some uniform cleaning companies replace 65 to 70 per cent of their workforce annually. That is no doubt partly because of Cadet's unique compensation plan, which Wahl and Gedmintas developed intentionally to ensure that their representatives were well paid. "You look at almost any business, and the lowest paid, least recognized employees, and the ones with the highest turnover rates, are the people who meet the customer," says Wahl. "We try to do it differently." That is why Domenic Casbarro loves his job.

D'ARCY JENISH



The only problem with paradise, I thought as I made my way back to the plane, was that fax machines were a bit thin on the ground.

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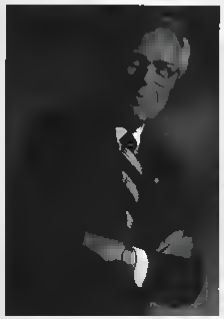


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Cash means trash



BY DEIRDRE McMURDY

Just wait for it. With the recession ebbing, corporate Canada is once again edging into treacherous waters. After years of losing money, restructuring operations and downsizing workforces, many Canadian companies are finally back in the black—big time. In the third quarter of this year, corporate operating profits popped by 11.6 per cent to $20 billion—the highest level since 1989. And over the past couple of weeks, several of the Magnificent Six chartered banks have reported record annual earnings for 1994. But as any experienced shareholder knows, all this happy news means nothing but trouble.

The problem is that when the going gets good, senior executives go shopping. Rather than respecting the inalienable right of all investors to blow their own money, corporate managers insist on doing it for them. Invariably, as company earnings improve, they embark on an Excellent Adventure that typically entails "redeploying" capital for a "strategic acquisition" or, for the more sporting members of the crowd, "diversifying" the company's asset base.

Recent business history is littered with proof that management should keep its mitts off any spare change that happens to be rolling around. Corporate directors, furthermore, should ensure that they do so. Throughout the 1980s, BCE Inc., bored with lapping the cream produced by its telephone utility monopoly, decided to add some seasoning. In a decade-long buying binge, it snapped up sizable chunks of real estate company Daon Development Corp., computer manufacturer SHL Systemhouse Inc., TransCanada PipeLines Ltd., Montreal Trust and publisher Quebecor Inc. Needless to say, BCE paid a steep price for its whimsy—not to mention the assets themselves. A similar scenario unfolded when Laidlaw Inc. struck gold with the relatively simple business combination of garbage collection and school buses. But before too long, the company had bought into ADT Inc., a burglar alarm and car-auction company based in Bermuda, and Attwoods PLC, an international solid-waste company, both of which resulted in scorching write-downs. We won't even talk about the The Molson Cos. or John Labatt Ltd.

But the banks, of course, are the easiest to kick on this score. Because they do not face the discipline of a major—or even a very large—shareholder, bank executives are seldom hauled onto the carpet. Consequently, whenever there is some coin at hand, they tend to blow it—albeit with spectacular style. Third World loans, Dome Petroleum and the oilpatch, mortgages for the Reichmann family, Robert Campeau and other real estate ventures all spring to mind. But now—after some modest dividend hikes—as the profits roll in for the next year, we can only speculate on what will be next.

Until that next debacle unfolds, however, Canada's bank chairmen can continue to direct surplus funds to such worthy monuments as total quality training centres. (The Bank of Montreal has already spent $40 million on one, and CIBC has dropped an undisclosed sum on another.) Furthermore, Al Flood, chairman of the Commerce, has already rocketed to the head of the herd by dusting off the D word and proclaiming that the CIBC will continue to "diversify." As the Commerce and its counterparts are lured deeper into the woods by their investments in brokerage firms, insurance companies and mutual fund managers, they will undoubtedly find ways to strew their path with at least some of that cumbersome cash.

All too often, a strong rush of corporate profits lures management into troubled waters

As earnings spiral skyward, the presence of a large and demanding majority stakeholder can be a decided comfort for small investors in its shadow. No doubt inspired by the needs of Exxon Corp., the U.S. parent company which stands to snag 70 per cent of any payout, the chairman and CEO of Imperial Oil, Bob Peterson, has candidly admitted that management is currently contemplating the second special shareholder dividend in a year. That's because a) they have about $1 billion more than they need right now, and b) it's hard to find an attractive investment in the Canadian oilpatch at current prices. That's the spirit. Cancel the fancy corporate vision, stash those strategic objectives. Just fork over the money.



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Business NOTES

BANKING BOOM

The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce recorded a 22-per-cent increase in profits in 1994, spurred by a sharp increase in fees from its banking, brokerage, credit card and mutual fund operations. Toronto-based CIBC reported earnings of $890 million for the year ended Oct. 31, up from $730 million last year. The smallest of Canada's chartered banks, Montreal-based National Bank of Canada, posted a profit of $217 million for its 1994 fiscal year ended Oct. 31, up 24 per cent from $175 million in 1993.

SIGNS OF STRENGTH

Despite a slowdown in consumer and business spending within Canada, Statistics Canada says that exports kept the economy growing strongly in the third quarter of 1994. The economy grew by an annual rate of 4.7 per cent in the third quarter, down significantly from the 6.7-per-cent rate in the second quarter of the year. Economists predict that growth will slow even more in 1995 as higher interest rates put a damper on exports.

HIBERNIA HASSLE

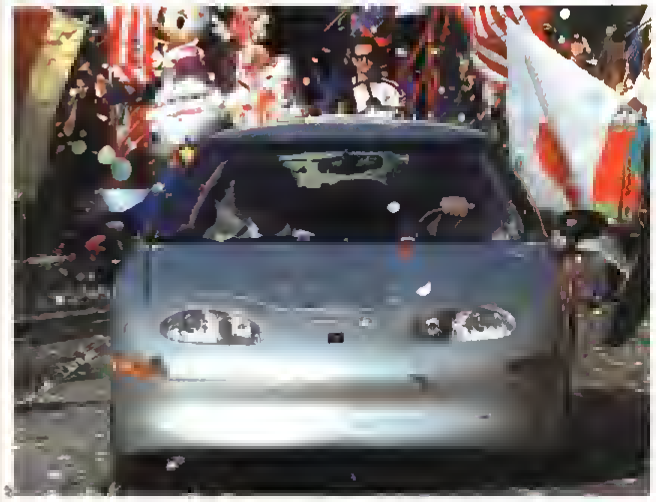
The $6.2-billion Hibernia offshore oil project created more controversy last week when the Bloc Québécois complained that the consortium running the project should have called for open bids on a supply contract that was moved from a Newfoundland government shipyard to Saint John Shipbuilding in New Brunswick. The contract is estimated to be worth between $16 million and $20 million. The consortium refused to reopen bidding.

TELCO SALE ON HOLD

The federal competition bureau has delayed the sale of Edmonton Telephone until 1995 because it wants more time to study the terms of a proposed $465-million deal. Provincially owned Telus Corp. wants to buy the telephone company, which is owned by Edmonton.

SIGN OF THE *TIMES*

A decision by Thomson Corp. of Toronto to close the *Oshawa Times* after a three-week strike led to the loss of 80 jobs. With increasing competition in the industry and losses of $1.8 million in the past four years, Thomson management said that the strike was the final blow, since it knocked the paper out of the market during the most lucrative advertising period of the year. Employees vowed to continue publishing *The Independent*, a newspaper that they started during the strike, as a twice-weekly morning tabloid.



HIGH-VOLTAGE VEHICLES: At an international conference on electric car technology at Disneyland in California, GM's prototype electric car, the Impact sedan, led the parade down Main Street.

Jobs, jobs, jobs

Some 95,000 new jobs were created in November, sending Canada's unemployment rate tumbling to 9.6 per cent—the lowest level in four years. Last week, Statistics Canada reported that the domestic unemployment rate dropped from 10 per cent in October and from 11 per cent a year ago. It is also down from the peak of 11.8 per cent in November, 1992. The agency also noted that the number of people unemployed in November dropped by 50,000 to 1.36 million, the lowest level since December, 1990. So far this year, the economy has created 422,000 full-time jobs. "Last month's stellar job performance is unambiguously good news for the Canadian economy," said a report from investment dealer Nesbitt Burns in Toronto. "And even more job creation is on its way, with help-wanted ads—a forward-looking employment gauge—rising further in November."

Still, the improved employment outlook was tempered with concerns about interest rates. As the economic recovery strengthens, economists anticipate that the Bank of Canada will push interest rates up because of the threat of inflation. Within minutes of the release of StatsCan's unemployment statistics, the Royal Bank of Canada increased its prime rate by half a percentage point to 7.5 per cent, and several other banks soon followed. Strong employment figures in both Canada and the United States, as well as higher U.S. interest rates, are two key factors in pushing Canadian rates up.

Going for it

Months of aggressive lobbying paid off for former Liberal cabinet minister Donald Johnston last week when he was named to the secretary general's post at the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development in Paris. Johnston will become the first non-European to head the OECD when he takes over the job in June 1996. His candidacy was supported by both the Canadian government—which paid about $100,000 for him to visit the OECD's 25 member countries earlier this year—and the United States. Johnston, a lawyer who was president of the Treasury Board and minister of state for economic and regional development in the 1980s, will receive a tax-free annual salary of $245,000.



We Are the World— the TV version

BY PETER C NEWMAN

Back in the hopeful 1980s, American rock stars achieved a breakthrough of sorts by donating their talents to producing the song/video *We Are the World*, dedicated to raising public consciousness about the Third World's hungry That pop hit triggered a process that culminated in a set of resolutions passed by the 1990 UN Earth Summit in Rio, advocating the creation of a new Third World television network specifically dedicated to reaching that two-thirds of this planet's population that lives in developing countries

Calling itself WETV (from the first word of the song), that new network is being organized by half a dozen experts and consultants working out of Ottawa s International Development Research Centre—although no decision has been made on a permanent headquarters WETV's first effort, to be beamed by satellite to 10 countries on three continents, will be live broadcasts of the fourth United Nations Conference on Women Equality, Development and Peace, to be held in Beijing next September WETV's start up receiving countries will include India, Malaysia, China, South Africa, Ghana, Chile, Mexico and some Caribbean states.

The relatively minor start up costs of $10 million are being raised through a consortium of private and public sources as well as such pivotal international agencies as UNICEF, the World Bank, the World Health Organization and Baha'i International The fledgling organization has received signed expressions of future interest in both carrying and contributing programming to WETV from 24 television networks in the Southern Hemisphere, including those in Kenya, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukraine, Venezuela and St. Lucia

Ultimately, WETV will tie into local cable systems and existing networks And once the necessary technology has been perfected, it will be beamed to an estimated one billion viewers through leased direct-broadcast satellites. Since 1990, satellite TV has spread to an estimated 200 million viewers in 39 countries in Asia and the Middle East alone

'WETV will offer an island of refuge for a worldwide community of viewers concerned for the future of our planet'

"With some 300 satellite-delivered TV stations on the air," points out David Nostbakken executive director of the WETV organizing group, "the globalization of television is a reality in many countries of the Southern Hemisphere WETV will offer an alternative form of compelling, informative programming, an island of refuge for a worldwide community of viewers concerned for the future of our planet." A disciple and student of Marshall McLuhan, Nostbakken is the former head of Vision-TV, the low-cost Canadian channel that has harvested significant audiences for its unique form of entertaining yet educational and spiritual, programming

"Until recently " he contends, "the social and cultural impact of television has been underestimated because its commercial and entertainment look has led many parents politicians and educators to discount its role in shaping attitudes and values This is a shortsighted view Television is being recognized as the great legitimizer of our day Like it or not, this is the medium that increasingly engages the mass of people and forms beliefs and social learning patterns The converse is also true Perspectives and ideas that are absent from the box become delegitimized Whole peoples become voiceless phantoms through an absence of exposure "

What Nostbakken and his tiny crew of advisers are attempting to achieve is not only the freer flow of ideas from industrialized nations to the Third World, but eventually a change in the traditional flow of values and knowledge, so that it would move from South to North and from South to South The fledgling network's biggest break came last week with the decision of Arthur Campeau to become one of its senior policy advisers Formerly a leading Montreal lawyer, Campeau became Canada's first ambassador for environment and sustainable development and was one of the main animators at the Rio Earth Summit.

The only non-American who sits on President Clinton's National Advisory Committee on Environmental Policy and Technology, Campeau brings to his new assignment the stellar reputation and high level contacts much needed by the baby television venture "The Western media," he told me, "largely promote a world of rising material expectations, fanned by encouragement to increase consumption patterns, which for many are already unsustainable It's essential that people in developing countries have the opportunity to see a reflection of their own cultures and values on television screens, as opposed to reruns of *Roseanne* "

WETV will initially go on the air six hours a day and by the year 2000 will expand to a 24-hour schedule Its programming approach "to support cultural and social self-expression for human-centred development, and create a global platform for the exchange of South-North and South-South information" sounds pretty ponderous But the innovators pushing this agenda are well aware that, without an audience, their message will not be delivered, and that only lively entertainment will attract significant audiences Half the program day will be produced by developing-country broadcasters from nearly all of them independent operators.

The other 50 per cent of programming will be contributed by such existing systems as CNN, ABC, CBC, TVOntario, Vision TV in Canada and the BBC One decision that has yet to be made is what languages WETV will use in its broadcasts Among the options for dealing with the problem are simultaneous satellite radio transmission in the various languages, sub-carriers wired into transmitting satellites, dubbing, subtitling or offering programs in different languages at different times Advertising will be sold on WETV, but not to promote tobacco, alcohol or other substances dangerous to health "We will seek advertising from socially responsible businesses and corporations and will encourage them to maximize the informational content of their messages," says Nostbakken

WETV is one of those idealistic projects that the Western world shouldn't be doing at a time of constricted budgets Yet our survival on this planet dictates that do it we must.



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ISKOTEO...The Northern Culture

Visitors to Grande Prairie during the 1995 Canada Games are in for a bonus a spectacular culture festival that brings together all the enticing elements of this land of endless blue skies and bold and brilliant winters

The Games' culture committee theme stems from a Cree word meaning 'fire", and a poetic three lines that sum up the region's appeal. "Iskoteo ...Fire in the sky ...spirit of the people ...power of the land "

"Iskoteo", a living, breathing, modern medicine man embodies the very essence of the two-week extravaganza He will participate in a funky five part multi-media show entitled "Fire in the Sky' that happens every night in the city's central park Twelve-foot puppets, lasers, giant screens, hot air balloons and music come together to make this fossil-meets-future history of the region Entertainers from across Canada will perform in the nightly "Spirit of the People" presentation The Aboriginal component, which figures prominently throughout the Games, features the "Northern Shadow Dancers," as well as a gala performance starring Laura Vinson Coffee houses, bon fires, roaming performers and skating on the pond will fuel the already dazzling open-air festivities



Canada Games Pinnacle in front of Canada Games Arena in Grande Prairie.

Hardly a space exists that won't be touting the culture theme Downtown banners and schoolyard fences will feature "Iskoteo" images, houses and buildings will don the Games colours. The local library will display its "Iskoteo" poem and short story contests winners And finally, there's the Pinnacle, a 25-foot steel structure designed especially for the culture committee by local sculptor Rudi Schmidt. The sculpture, which depicts winter athletes, neatly ties up the interdependence of sport and culture

"The people of Grande Prairie encourage you to join them for a unique Northern experience. Call the Games Hotline: 1-800-684-1995"

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JUSTICE

Betrayal of trust

An abusive doctor is convicted of murder

At times, the trial seemed too shocking to be true During 10 days of testimony that was laced with accounts of drugs, gambling and hit men, it became clear that Surrey, B C , physician Joseph Charalambous was obsessed with stopping a former patient, 19-year-old Sian Simmonds, from testifying against him at a sexual misconduct hearing before the College of Physicians and Surgeons of British Columbia. Charalambous, 42, who was previously disciplined for sexual misconduct with another teenage patient—she later became his wife—faced revocation of his licence to practise and the loss of his $450 000 annual income Last week, in the Vancouver suburb of Westminster, B.C Supreme Court Justice Ronald McKinnon found him guilty of first-degree murder for his role in plotting Simmonds's slaying in January, 1993—and sentenced him to life in prison But the ruling did little to allay the anger of many who believe the B C college could have acted sooner to stop Charalambous—and save Simmonds's life "There should be zero tolerance for doctors who abuse their trust," says Bonnie Agnew, a spokeswoman for the Vancouver Rape Relief and Women's Shelter "These are highly educated men, and they know what is right and what is wrong "



Christopher and Katie Simmonds' haunting questions

The Charalambous case is a sensational example of a disturbing reality In British Columbia alone, the number of sexual abuse complaints against doctors climbed to 72 in 1993 from 27 in 1991—a rise due, at least in part, to increased reporting of incidents Several provinces have responded by conducting inquiries into the handling of professional misconduct cases, focusing on the role played by provincial colleges of physicians and surgeons the doctor-run bodies that regulate the medical profession In British Columbia and Ontario, legislative changes have been made to strengthen the accountability of doctors But last week, the registrar of the B C. college, Dr Tom Handley, said that nothing in the new rules could have prevented actions as extreme as those of Charalambous If so, others say, much more should be done to prevent such tragedies "We need a much tougher, ongoing scrutiny of what these self-regulating bodies are doing," says Toronto lawyer Marilou McPhedran, who chaired a 1991 task force into the prac



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JACK DANIEL'S TENNESSEE WHISKEY

tices of Ontario's college of physicians and surgeons. "No one ever pays any attention to these problems unless there is fresh kill."

The events that led up to Sian Simmonds's death began in September, 1991, when she and her sister Katie complained to the B.C. college of physicians and surgeons that Charalambous hugged and kissed them in his office. In response, the college scheduled a disciplinary hearing for early March, 1993. The doctor's estranged wife, Shelley Charalambous, testified at the non-jury trial that her husband became agitated after learning of the hearing in November, 1992, and that he believed his career and his livelihood were at stake. "He was thinking of anything possible to keep the hearing from going ahead," she said.

Finally, he asked a friend, Brian Gerald West, 43, to help him deal with the sisters. West coerced another man, David Schlender, 41, into tracking Sian down at her Surrey apartment, and gave him a gun, bullets and a silencer. During the trial, Schlender, who was earlier convicted of second-degree murder for shooting and bludgeoning Sian to death on Jan. 27, 1993, testified that he owed a $6,000 drug debt to West.

At the trial's end, Christopher Simmonds, Sian's father, criticized the B.C. college for failing to move more quickly on the case—there was an 18-month delay between the time of her complaint and the date set for a hearing. In most instances, said college registrar Handley, delays have now been reduced to the absolute minimum, about seven months. And in any event, he maintained, time was not the issue in the Charalambous case. "What was responsible was the character of the individuals who perpetrated the crime," he said. "This was a unique and horrible circumstance. There was no reason to anticipate what happened."

But some experts say that doctors should undergo a much more rigorous screening process to prevent a person of obviously poor character from joining the profession. During the trial, for example, Charalambous's estranged wife (they have three children) testified that her husband is an addicted gambler who spent most of his $450,000 annual income at casinos and the racetrack. He often beat her, she said. Charalambous also faces criminal charges that could not be made public while his trial was in progress. There are six charges of sexual assault involving three former patients, and he is a co-accused in a case of procurement: he is alleged to have traded drugs for sex with the 16-year-old daughter of a cocaine addict.

The haunting question last week was whether Charalambous could have been stopped before it was too late. At the very least, Simmonds's death—preventable or not—may help refocus scrutiny on one of society's most delicate relationships, that of physicians and their patients.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM *with* ROBIN AJELLO *in Vancouver*

INTO THE WIDE BLUE YONDER

At 24, **Yancy Butler** already boasts a résumé that includes two films by the world's best-known action directors: **John Woo**'s *Hard Target* (1993) and now *Drop Zone*, by **John Badham** of *Lethal Weapon* fame. And action can be demanding. For instance, in *Drop Zone*, which opens this week, Butler plays a professional skydiver embroiled in terrorist intrigue. The part required that she learn to parachute. The result? "It was the most therapeutic thing I've ever done," she says. In fact, Butler now plans to jump out of planes just for the fun of it—but not until her current project, the romantic comedy *Let It Be Me*, wraps up filming in her native New York City. After all, she plays a dance instructor in the movie. "I don't think," she says, "that getting a broken leg and playing a dancer would be too easy." And break a leg is just a figure of speech.

Butler: 'the most therapeutic thing'



BRUCE TALAMON



Passaglia: a Cup, a truck and a mix-up

PATRIOT GAMES

Sometimes, morality tales are played out on the field of sport. The Nov. 27 Grey Cup game in Vancouver pitted the B.C. Lions against the first American team to make it to the CFL final, Baltimore. And when, with no time left, kicker **Lui Passaglia** secured a 26-23 win over Baltimore with a 38-yard field goal, to many fans it was a victory not just for the Lions, but for Canada, too. Then, something funny happened. In their enthusiasm, CTV commentators announced that Passaglia, who kicked three other field goals that day, had been named most valuable player, earning him a Chrysler pickup truck. But the *real* MVP, as judged by reporters, was Baltimore cornerback **Karl Anthony**, an American. Vancouver-born Passaglia, 40, had actually won the lesser prize of most valuable *Canadian*, entitling him to free air travel miles. As it turned out, Passaglia got his truck—in a way. The CFL, the Lions and Chrysler gave him a year's use of a pickup, along with his travel miles. An entirely Canadian compromise.

KING STOMPIN' THE FIRST?

For the record, **Stompin' Tom Connors** is one heck of a dart player, and a world-class beer drinker. He is also a pretty fair singer, with more than 20 albums under his belt and one of them—1990's *A Proud Canadian*—hitting platinum (sales of 100,000). But one thing that the troubadour from Skinners Pond, P.E.I., is *not* is a politician. Says Connors: "I couldn't sit on a back bench somewhere and do nothing but go to sleep, as some of these guys do." He would not even want to be prime minister, he says—although he could imagine being king. Still, 58-year-old Connors is ready and willing to talk politics when it comes to people he cares about—and among those are the Canadian men and women who police the world's hot spots. For years, Connors has corresponded with



BRIAN WILER/MACLEAN'S

Connors: not a politician

Canadian peacekeepers overseas, often sending them copies of his albums. And his new video, *Blue Berets*, is an unabashedly glowing tribute to the multinational UN forces. But the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, where Canadian soldiers were being held by Serbian forces last week, clearly has him rankled. "I mean, what the hell are we *doing* there?" Connors asks. Many other Canadians—even politicians—are wondering the same thing.

THE CALL OF COMEDY

Charlie Farquharson has decided that his country needs him, for better and for worse. Farquharson, his alter ego, actor and writer **Don Harron**, and Harron's wife, singer **Catherine McKinnon**, will all ship off to entertain peacekeepers in the former Yugoslavia, Israel and Egypt beginning Dec. 13 at the invitation of the department of national defence, which is footing the bill. The tour of duty ends on Jan. 3, after performances for UN troops, including a small Canadian contingent, in the former Yugoslavia. "I can't wait to see what Charlie Farquharson is going to do for 18 Canadians, and the rest of them speaking different languages," McKinnon said. Before setting out, Harron, 70, and McKinnon, 49, plan to work on something closer to home. They recently purchased the Limelight Theatre in Toronto along with a group of investors that includes comedian **Dave Broadfoot**. The Harron-McKinnon act opened the club in late October, proving that ownership does have its privileges.

Edited by **JOE CHIDLEY**

Backpack

A monthly report on personal health, life and leisure

HIGH ON SCIENCE

It used to be that the only science involved in downhill skiing was basic physics. Strap the human mass onto a pair of varnished floorboards, then allow gravity to work its magic. But that was before ski-equipment manufacturers invented a new sport: the pre-season shopping slalom, an activity that requires skiers to negotiate their way through an avalanche of marketing techno-jargon dreamed up by an industry in developmental overdrive. Observes former Canadian downhill champion Ken Read, now a Calgary-based ski consultant: "Everybody in the business is trying to have their own unique approach, their own solution, to performance."

Indeed, few popular sports are as heavily infused with high technology as skiing. Consider Lange's recently developed "mid-entry" boots, which feature a hinged upper section that swings back for easy entry. By comparison, air-pumped basketball shoes and in-line skates seem positively Flintstonian in design. And if the industry's pitchmen are to be believed, the latest crop of advancements—including Nordica's "carbon-Kevlar" boot sole inserts and Elan's "cycloid"-edged skis—will ensure demonstrations of finesse in situations where once only wipeouts were possible.

Although ski wear has at best a marginal effect on performance, clothing designers have been no less attentive to technological opportunities. Phenix's Bion II ski suit appears designed for space travel as much as for skiing. In fact, NASA technology provided the Japanese company Swany with its design for Flex, or gloves, the most advanced mitts on the market. Top-of-the-line Flexors ($150 to $200) contain a heated liquid circulation system, much like a radiator.

Ultimately, a skier's enjoyment depends on the eminently comprehensible concept of comfort. And where comfort is most crucial is in the boots.

BUCKLE UP

While the 1980s brought "rear-entry" boots into vogue, this decade might eliminate them in favor of the mid-entry design developed four years ago by Lange. The ease of putting on and removing a rear-entry model, which opens at the back, came at the expense of a snug fit. The idea of mid-entries is to offer both the fit of an overlap boot—mid entries have a four-buckle overlap design for adjustment of fit—and the convenience of rear entry.

One drawback with mid-entries is their complexity—composed of several moulded plastic sections, the boot actually disengages from its forward-leaning position for entry and removal. As a result, Lange and competitors like Salomon have been busy modifying their designs. "They have changed the liner so that it moves back with the cuff," says Greg Brocanier, a Toronto boot fitter. "And Lange has made its buckle system a lot easier to use."

A boot that certainly won't suit a wide segment of the market is the Nordica GPX RT, a Ferrari-like racing boot outfitted with a carbon-Kevlar sole and an "energy rail" that runs down the centre of the sole. According to the manufacturer, the energy rail absorbs "lateral stress" and "torsional twist," while the carbon-Kevlar insert allows more intimate contact with the ski and snow surface. "Your movement is transmitted to the ski more efficiently with these boots," says Mississauga, Ont., ski-equipment salesman Jason Paradine. "It makes you ski better."

Unfortunately, the GPX RT's high-tech soles transmit not only the contours of the slope but also its temperature—usually sub-zero—to the skier's foot. They are not warm. "When you're looking for a boot for three or four runs, they're great," says Paradine. "But if you're not going to be doing any radical skiing or getting any air, you don't need them."

In fact, new boots may not be necessary at all. Herb Stanway, a 37-year-old Montreal businessman and expert skier, has skied with the same pair of boots for the past eight years. Said Stanway: "The past couple of years, they've really started to fit and that's what's important. If I had to make a choice, I'd rather have lousy skis than boots that hurt."





■ *Lange mid-entry boots (left), Elan Cycloid MBX skis: improving control*

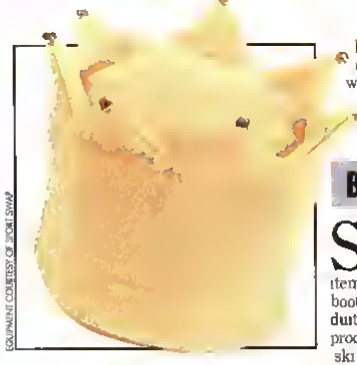
SEXY SKIS

The choice of skis depends on the type of skier—whether it be high-speed cruiser, mogul-basher or terminally graceless. For all skiers, and especially the latter breed, the good news is that refinements in ski construction over the past decade—and particularly since the introduction of the monocoque or *one piece* "cap ski"—have enhanced performance at every level by making turns easier. Like mid-entry boots, cap skis have been continually refined since Volant introduced them in 1989. Unlike a traditional ski, which consists of a separate top and sides glued together around a core, cap skis feature a single, sloping surface, which improves control and turning ability. Leading models ($500 to $800) are now produced by Elan, Salomon and several other companies. Says Ken Read: "Cap construction has improved the quality of skis dramatically."

This season, however, brings an even more dramatic development: parabolic or "hourglass" skis. Thin at the waist and flaring wide towards both ends, parabolics are expected to be to skiing what oversized racquet heads have been to tennis. Experts say the curvaceous design makes turning easier still, an advantage that will appeal to many intermediate-level skiers. Already, three companies (Elan, S Ski and Kneissl) are manufacturing parabolics, though finding them in Canada remains difficult. Can Ski, an equipment boutique in Whistler, B.C., is approaching the market tentatively, having ordered only two pairs so far this season. Said Nick Bouvier, the store's manager: "You're supposed to be able to lean a lot with them. They're like carving skis. But I can't say I've ever seen them on the slopes."

Indeed, parabolics may remain rare if not unseen in Eastern Canada, where retailers say they are ill-suited to the prevailing hard pack and sometimes icy ski conditions. Read, however, sees some eastern potential for parabolics. "An evenly groomed hill is where they'll work," he says. "And with tiller technology, even grooming is simple." But, adds Read, "the jury's still very much out on parabolic skis."

One ski that has received a favorable verdict is the "fat boy," a short, wide ski that is particularly popular among lovers of helicopter skiing. The fat-boy concept is simple: the additional width increases a skier's flotation in powder. Says Read: "The fat boys are what caught people's imagination."



COURTESY OF SPORT SWANY

■ *Fleece ski hat: search for style*

BOLD BINDINGS

Somehow, bindings do not capture the imagination as readily as skiing's sexier equipment items. But as the link between the boot and ski, they are integral conduits in the "energy transmission" process that is the focus of so much ski science. "There's two sides to bindings," says Can Ski's Bouvier, an expert boot fitter originally from Monaco. "Intermediates and less experienced skiers buy them for [ski] release. Experts buy them for retention."

Bouvier and others agree that the two most exciting bindings now available are the Marker M51SC and Salomon's Suspension DR 9 EXP. Marker's SC stands for "selective control," which is plainly descriptive of a binding that can actually regulate the stiffness or "flex" of a ski. The SC has three selections: free flex for powder, stiff for icy, moderate for packed snow. An apparently sensible asset, the original SC is priced immoderately at about $300. A less expensive model is now available for lighter skiers.

Experts have found Salomon's suspension binding to have its own equally remarkable qualities. "It takes all the chatter out of the skis," says Bouvier. "At the same time, a raiser gets your boot to sit higher on the ski, which gives you more leverage, more edge control—more power in the edge bite."

OVER-THE-TOP HATS

While suits and gloves now appear in a wide range of high-tech fabrics, this year's most radical trend rests on an timeless material: fleece, used not only in ski vests and linings but also in a wide range of eccentric hats. The oddball hat trend began last season in Western Canada, where grunge-inspired snowboarders took to distinguishing themselves with unique headgear. "Hats are a big statement out West," says Toronto native Joe Heskett, who worked at a B.C. resort last season. "You've got to have a stylish hat—*your* hat."

One company that has taken the sub-cultish trend of novelty hats to the mass market is Murray Merkley Sportswear Ltd. of Toronto, which created a new division dedicated to jester-style and stocking caps made from fleece. Says company president Murray Merkley of the trend: "It has created a lot of excitement in the industry. You can do stuff with fleece that you just can't do with knitting."

Indeed, one U.S. company has used fleece to create a line of animal caricature headgear, one of which makes a skier look like a Viking with a sense of humor. Not everyone, however, is enamored of the trend. Ski purists like Nick Bouvier are hoping it won't last. Observes Bouvier: "Last year, the funky hats started to get big. Hopefully, we will see it less and less this year."

DAN BURKE

Backpack Calendar

Holiday highlights, bright lights and First Nights



First Night parade in Toronto: lots of high jinks, but no drinks

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Dec 15-Jan 22 Abstract Paintings, 1960-1990, Vancouver Art Gallery. Works by artists Jack Shadbolt and Tom Onley will be among the 30 featured paintings from the VAG's permanent collection.

Jan 8 Vancouver Recital Society presents Samuel Ramey. The American-born Ramey, a specialist in opera villains, who has starred in productions created for him at Covent Garden, La Scala and elsewhere, possesses a versatile voice that is the most recorded basso in history.

Jan. 15 Kahurangi Maori Dance Theatre, Vancouver Playhouse. Tribal dance and music from New Zealand.

ALBERTA

Dec. 26-Jan. 6 World Junior Hockey Championship, Red Deer. Canada competes for its third consecutive title against the world's other top junior teams—the United States, Sweden, Russia, Finland, the Czech Republic, Germany and Ukraine.

Jan. 12-13 Calgary Philharmonic Orchestra Classics Concert, Jack Singer Concert Hall. Pianist Philipe Entremont, music director of the Vienna Chamber Orchestra, is the CPO's guest soloist and conductor for two evenings of Mozart *(Piano Concerto no. 21* and *Symphony no. 29)* and Brahms *(Symphony no. 2)*.

SASKATCHEWAN

Jan. 5-7 Knights of Columbus Saskatchewan Indoor Games, Saskatoon. One of North America's oldest invitational indoor track-and-field meets is also one of two Canadian stops—the other is Hamilton—on the international indoor grand prix circuit. World-class athletes compete in events such as the 60-m dash, pole vault and 1500-m race.

MANITOBA

Dec. 28-31 Royal Winnipeg Ballet. The Royal's crowd-pleasing holiday program consists of *Five Brahms Waltzes in the Manner of Isadora Duncan, Les Sylphides* and the *Nutcracker Pas de Deux*.

Jan. 12, 14, 15. Centennial Concert Hall, Winnipeg. The Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra accompanies a special showing of Charlie Chaplin's 1925 classic *The Gold Rush*.

ONTARIO

Dec. 14-30 The Nutcracker, O'Keefe Centre, Toronto. Twenty-one performances by The National Ballet of Canada, followed on New Year's Eve by a parody of the holiday favorite, titled *The Nutty Nutcracker*.

Dec. 17-31 Wonder Kingdom, Exhibition Place, Toronto. A commercial extravaganza featuring live theatre, magic and music for children and teenagers over the holidays. Among the 60 activities: wall-climbing, remote-control car races and, naturally, video games.

Dec. 21 Toronto Children's Chorus concert, First Canadian Place, Toronto. The award-winning chorus, led by founder and music director Jean Ashworth Bartle, per-

Good clean fun

It started in Boston in 1976, when a group of artists, architects and urban planners decided to skip the tuxedos, champagne—and morning-after headaches—that often accompany traditional New Year's Eve festivities. They called their mostly outdoor, and completely alcohol-free, party First Night. Since then, the family-oriented celebration has spread to more than 100 North American cities. In Canada, communities across the country, including Victoria, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto and Saint John, N.B., will kick off the new year with events ranging from parades and fireworks to mask-making and sleigh rides. Many northern cities continue to follow the Boston model, which includes both indoor and outdoor activities, to let participants indulge in periodic warm-ups during events that can begin as early as mid-morning on Dec. 31.

Winnipeg's festivities, billed as "A Family New Year's Eve at the Forks," will take place at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers in the city's historic downtown core. Event organizer Marilyn Williams expects between 60,000 and 120,000 people to attend. Almost all of the activities, including films, concerts at the "Launching Pad" stage, ice carving, dogsled rides and juggling, are free. A small charge applies to some others, such as mask-making. Chilled partygoers can go indoors to hear storytellers sitting by a fire, and local restaurants and food kiosks are open throughout the day. The party ends with a bang, with two fireworks displays, one at 7:45 p.m.—suitable for early bedtimes—and another at midnight. "It doesn't cost big bucks," Williams points out, "and it's a great way to celebrate." Sober, yes, but not necessarily serious.



What do you see? Age or beauty?





Are you ready to [illegible] your perception?

Backpack



The Nutcracker: a holiday favorite

forms contemporary and traditional seasonal melodies in a free concert.

To Dec. 31 *From Cézanne to Matisse: Great French Paintings From the Barnes Foundation*, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. A last opportunity to visit the popular exhibit.

Dec. 27-Jan. 1 Winter Carnival, Whitby. Nightly live entertainment and light displays, along with sleigh rides, a bonfire and children's games.

QUEBEC

Dec. 17-Jan. 4 The Nutcracker, Place des Arts, Montreal. Les Grands Ballet Canadiens present the perennial Christmas favorite by Tchaikovsky.

Jan. 13-15 Laval Invitational Synchro. Precision skating by competitors from Canada, Europe and the United States.

Jan. 13-22 Cinoche, Baie-Comeau. Every year the North Shore resource town hosts a film festival featuring the year's best movies from the Cannes, Venice, Toronto and Montreal festivals. This year's offerings include Quentin Tarantino's *Pulp Fiction*, Atom Egoyan's *Exotica* and Robert Redford's *Quiz Show*, along with a wide range of other films from such countries as Russia, Taiwan, France and Australia.

NEW BRUNSWICK

Dec. 18 Festival of Carols and Lessons, Trinity Anglican Church, Saint John. In a traditional liturgical event, nine lessons are read and nine carols sung by a mass of choirs 250 voices strong, with brass accompaniment.

NOVA SCOTIA

Dec. 19-20 The *Messiah*, Dartmouth Arts Centre. Symphony Nova Scotia, Atlantic Canada's largest professional orchestra and guest soloists perform Handel's classic work.

Jan. 6-29 Neptune Theatre, Halifax. Seana McKenna stars in the one-woman play *The Search for Signs of Intelligent Life in the Universe*.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Dec. 18 Sing Noel, Confederation Arts Centre, Charlottetown. The centre's Boys and Girls Choir sings traditional carols.

NEWFOUNDLAND

Dec. 31 New Year's Eve Celebration, St. John's. An annual event in which as many as 25,000 people gather at the harbor front to welcome the New Year to North America in traditional style, with bubbly, music and fireworks.

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Dec. 27-28 Christmas Feast and Drum Dance, Rae Lakes. A northern banquet of caribou stew, dried fish, bannock and blueberries, accompanied by Dene-style dancing.

YUKON

Dec. 17 Christmas Potpourri, Yukon Arts Council, Whitehorse. A benefit concert featuring Yukon artists including pianist Matthew Lien and the popular band Inconnu.

NEXT

A sampling of upcoming diversions

MOVIES

Immortal Beloved Gary Oldman plays Ludwig van Beethoven in a romantic mystery.

Dumb and Dumber A candidly titled farce starring Canadian comedy star Jim Carrey, Jeff Daniels and Carrey's new squeeze, Lauren Holly.

I.Q. Albert Einstein's niece (Meg Ryan) wants to marry a genius but is pursued by an uneducated mechanic (Tim Robbins).

Little Women Susan Sarandon, Winona Ryder and Gabriel Byrne revive the Louisa May Alcott classic.

VIDEO

Spanking the Monkey A brilliant, edgy film about alienation and incest, featuring Canadian actress Alberta Watson.

The Client An 11-year-old is hunted by the Mob in a lumbering John Grisham thriller.

Ruby in Paradise Ashley Judd makes a strong screen debut in a slow but effecting drama.

Germinal Stodgy social realism, with Gérard Depardieu as Emile Zola's salt of the earth.

Wagons East John Candy's last film, but far from his best.

BOOKS

Morning in the Burned House Margaret Atwood (McClelland & Stewart). Her first collection of new poetry in a decade.

The Ransom of Russian Art John McPhee (Macfarlane Walter & Ross). An acclaimed magazine writer turns his attention to an American academic who may have single-handedly preserved 30 years of contemporary Soviet art.

A Private View Anita Brookner (Random House). The British novelist explores desire and conscience in her latest story.

The Fruit Cocktail Diaries Brian Carmody and Gretchen Hayduk (McClelland & Stewart). The tale of two fictional twentysomething writers in New York City who reflect on expectations, love, and how to survive as they struggle in menial jobs.

AUDIO

Gregorian Chant for Christmas Choralschola der Capella Antiqua of Munich (Philips). Ethereal sounds for the holiday season.

Live at the BBC The Beatles (EMI). Fifty-six songs—including Chuck Berry and Elvis Presley tunes—recorded by the Fab Four for radio shows between 1962 and 1965.



PAUL McCARTNEY

When the Sun Goes Down The Sidemen (Dark Light Music). The sizzling Toronto blues band's second album is produced by acclaimed guitarist Joe Louis Walker.

The Gift of Messiah Various artists, Howard Dyck conductor (Opening Day Recordings). A fund-raiser for two benevolent organizations, the recording features four leading Canadian vocalists and, of course, the music of Handel.



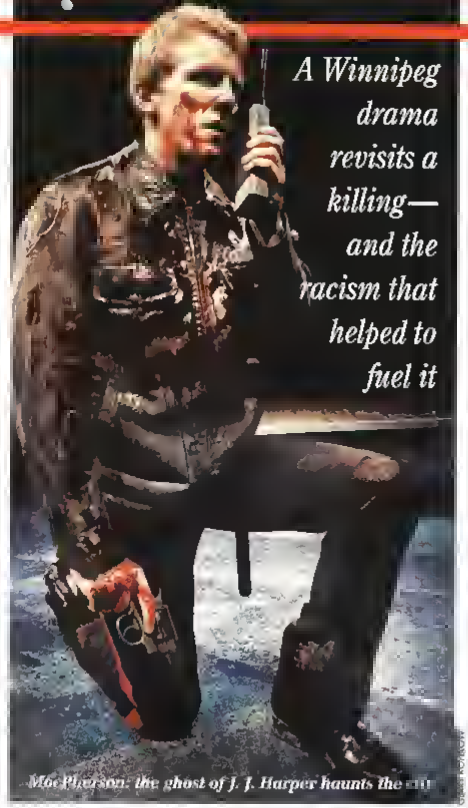






'Kicking the community'

A Winnipeg drama revisits a killing—and the racism that helped to fuel it



MacPherson: the ghost of J. J. Harper haunts the cast

Manitoba playwright Bill Harrar was fresh out of Princeton University in the late 1960s when he signed up with a poverty group called the Vista Volunteers and was dispatched to Arkansas. "They'd send me to black churches to help preachers form action groups," recalls Harrar, now 51. "But I always thought they should have sent me to white churches instead, because that's where the problems between the races seemed to be. Blacks knew what the trouble was. The people who needed a talking-to were the whites." In *InQuest*, Harrar's new play just wrapping up a three-week run at Winnipeg's Prairie Theatre Exchange, he attempts to deliver a theatrical translation of that lecture, albeit to a different audience struggling with a different version of racism.

InQuest examines how four Winnipeg police officers reacted in the aftermath of the shooting death of a native leader. Although fiction, it is based on the case of 36-year-old J. J. Harper, who was shot six years ago during a late-night struggle on a downtown Winnipeg street with Police Const. Robert Cross. Prairie Theatre Exchange marketing director Bruce Duggan calls the shooting "the most traumatic event in our city in the past decade." An inquest initially cleared Cross of wrongdoing. But the subsequent Aboriginal Justice Inquiry found that racism had been a factor both in the shooting and in the exoneration of Cross. The play has now reignited debate over racism on the police force and in the community at large. It has lit up local talk-show lines and drawn fire from some natives, who have criticized the play for its absence of aboriginal characters and for what they say is a too-sympathetic approach to the policemen involved.

Harrar concedes that his play, directed by Manitoban Nancy Drake, is only one of several angles that could be taken on the Harper shooting. And although it is based on a real story, Harrar has invented dialogue and four flesh-and-blood characters, each of them imbued with some degree of racism. But by humanizing the policemen, Harrar says he has created characters with whom his audience can identify in the hope that viewers will examine their own prejudices. "As a playwright, you hope your play speaks to all people," says the New York City-born Harrar, who moved to Manitoba in the 1970s and now lives on a small farm near the Saskatchewan border. "But in a way, it was a play by a white man, written for white people, saying 'Let's talk about this.'"

A powerful piece of drama in its own right, *InQuest* opens with a blood-drenched police constable standing frozen in horror, his revolver dangling from his right hand. And it follows the constable (Arne MacPherson), the police sergeant who first arrived on the scene (Cheryl Swarts), an inspector investigating the case (Richard Hurst) and the police chief (Frank Adamson) through the subsequent investigation. At one point, the inspector decides against fingerprinting the constable's gun, a test that could have called into question the constable's claim that the inebriated native caused his own death by grabbing the firearm. When the inspector later begins to doubt the constable's version of events, the fingerprinting decision comes back to haunt him. "Did I think to myself, 'Drunken Indian, it didn't matter?'" he asks aloud.

It is in the inspector's anguished self-examination that *InQuest* seems most sympathetic to the policemen involved. The character is loosely based on the real Insp. Kenneth Dowson, who committed suicide on the day he was supposed to testify before the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry. Meanwhile, the real Const. Cross, now 40, divorced and living in Colorado, has not worked since the shooting. In his first media interview since the event, Cross told the local CBC-TV program *24 Hours* in a special report broadcast last month that Harper still "talks to me in my dreams," adding "I think one reason why I don't do suicide is I'm scared of having to meet him again." But Cross also criticized Harrar's efforts to re-create his character. "How can someone write a play about what I've been through if they haven't talked to me?" he asked.

That question, of course, underscores the difficulty inherent in theatre that blends fact and fiction. For as much as Harrar may want his audience to take a personal lesson from the play, the events are still so fresh and so controversial that debate is inevitably focused on the accuracy and fairness of his account. There are also many people in Winnipeg, according to Peter Warren, host of a morning radio hotline show on CJOB, who wish Harrar had picked a different topic altogether. "It may seem callous," says Warren, "but my view from the calls I've got is that Winnipeg has been J. J. Harper-ed to death."

The case, though, seems destined to remain on the public stage. In addition to Harrar's play and the CBC special last month, Winnipeg's CKND-TV recently broadcast a one-hour special on the local police force, including a look at how it has evolved since the Harper shooting. Gordon Sinclair Jr., a columnist with the *Winnipeg Free Press*, is also writing a book about the case. Warren says that he sees some redeeming value in the ongoing attention. "The play basically says again, 'Look what we allowed to happen,'" notes Warren. "It kicks the community, and perhaps rightfully so." Whether Harrar's lecture in dramatic form will just perpetuate debate or help bring about actual change is more difficult to say.

MARY NEMETH *in Winnipeg*



Murder most foul

THE PRODIGAL HUSBAND: THE TRAGEDY OF HELMUTH AND HANNA BUXBAUM
By Michael Harris
(McClelland & Stewart, 444 pages, 29.99)

A full decade has passed since Helmuth Buxbaum delivered his wife, Hanna, to a hired assassin waiting on the roadside near London, Ont. The case, already the subject of three books, appeared to be closed, convicted of arranging his wife's killing, Buxbaum lost an appeal in 1989 and is currently serving a 25-year sentence with no parole. But in an extraordinary new book, *The Prodigal Husband*, veteran investigative journalist Michael Harris has reopened the Buxbaum file. His exhaustive research has led him to conclude that a major miscarriage of justice may have been committed.

Harris comes with impressive credentials. He exposed the wrongful conviction of Donald Marshall in *Justice Denied* (1986) and detailed the child abuse scandal at the Mount Cashel orphanage in *Unholy Orders*. But his new book is not such a clear case of crusading detective work. To begin with, it was commissioned by Buxbaum from his jail cell, for several hundred thousand dollars. (Harris will not disclose the precise figure.) That would, on face value, make the book seem hopelessly tainted. But Harris claims that he had complete editorial control. And, in fact, *The Prodigal Husband* contradicts Buxbaum's emphatic contention that he is both innocent and sane: Harris concludes that his 55-year-old subject is overwhelmingly guilty and most likely insane.

The alleged injustice involves evidence of insanity that the Ontario Court of Appeal refused to examine because of a procedural rule that has since been changed. Harris's book amounts to a persuasive argument that Buxbaum's rights have been violated, at least in legal terms. By the final pages, however, the author's intimate portrait of his patron has revealed a character so unsympathetic that it is hard to summon up any empathy for him.

Still, while *The Prodigal Husband* is not about to inspire a "Free Helmuth" campaign, it is a fascinating tale of one man's moral decline, with a cast of characters worthy of pulp fiction. Harris charts Buxbaum's descent into sex, drugs and murder with a wry detachment and a fastidious eye for detail. And, despite its heft, it reads with the brisk economy of a good thriller.



Buxbaum; with Hanna (inset) sex, drugs and hired assassins

A writer finds a convicted killer guilty—and insane

The Buxbaum saga begins with an immigrant dream of prosperity and romance. Both ethnic Germans, the Polish-born Hanna and the Austrian-born Helmuth moved to Kitchener-Waterloo with their parents after the Second World War. She was a devout Mennonite, he was a born-again Baptist. She worked on a sausage assembly line, he worked his way up from a uranium mine in Elliot Lake. They married in 1961. Helmuth worked hard and invested wisely: by the end of the decade he was controlling an empire of nursing homes from London, Ont.

His philandering began six years after their marriage. Hanna, writes Harris, had "an aversion to sexual pleasure" and "drew the line between conjugal duty and moral impropriety at fellatio." In 1969, Helmuth admitted fathering a child with a 17-year-old kitchen helper at his Komoka Nursing Home. Attempting to compete with his younger women, Hanna took desperate measures—even undergoing reconstructive surgery to heighten his sexual pleasure. Helmuth, meanwhile, seemed unfazed by such concessions. The churchgoing millionaire and father of six children was hiring prostitutes, exploring group sex and cultivating a taste for cocaine.

Then, in 1982, Buxbaum suffered a severe stroke. And, in Harris's view, this is the event that tipped the balance of his sanity. At first, Buxbaum interpreted the stroke as a warning from God to mend his ways. While his devoted wife nursed him back to health, he vowed to reform himself. But soon, Buxbaum was behaving with an astonishing lack of inhibition. He bought sex with renewed vigor. He consorted openly with criminals in sleazy bars. He neglected his business. His craving for coke grew into a $2,000-a-week habit. His arms were tracked with needle marks. Meanwhile, his marriage crumbled, but divorce was an option that Hanna considered out of the question. And so, with the apparent intention of removing the last impediment to his sexual freedom, Buxbaum made plans to have her killed.

Those arrangements turned into a black comedy of errors, involving a string of petty criminals and con artists taking advantage of each other's stupidity like characters in an Elmore Leonard novel. Buxbaum paid his drug dealer, Robert Barrett (aka "the Squirrel"), to find a hit man. Barrett siphoned off $7,000 of his client's money before even lifting a finger. In Florida, he himself was scammed by an escaped convict from Quebec and his teenage moll, who promised to kill Hanna but ran off with the cash. Finally, Barrett hired a London area criminal, Pat Allen, who subcontracted the hit to two drunks in a tavern, Gary Foshay and Terry Armes.

Stoned on booze and speed, they posed as occupants of a broken-down car at a prearranged spot on the highway. After the arrival of a police cruiser forced them to abort the first

FORECAST

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—Fred McMann,
Publisher, Lindsay Daily Post

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What Matters To Canadians

attempt, they arranged a second rendezvous for later that day. It was Foshay who shot her in the head. The next day, Buxbaum blithely cashed in a gold bar and paid off his thugs without the slightest subterfuge. The entire coke-addled crew left such a glaring trail of evidence that police had little trouble cracking the case.

In jail, Buxbaum continued his impulsive pattern of trying to buy his way to freedom—he spent some $30,000 subsidizing a variety of fanciful escape attempts, which did nothing to support his claims of innocence. In court, he refused to consider an insanity defence. He paid the flamboyant lawyer Eddie Greenspan $1.3 million to represent him, and promised a $250,000 bonus for a clean acquittal. After the conviction, legal crusader Clayton Ruby handled the appeal. Overriding his client's contention that he was sane, Ruby (who insisted on total leeway in the case) asked to introduce physical evidence—including CAT scans—that Buxbaum's stroke had caused significant brain damage. Experts who had examined Buxbaum said he could be suffering from organic personality syndrome, allowing him to act without any sense of morality. But the court would not grant a new trial.

At least one more legal step remains. Helmuth's nephew, Roy Buxbaum, 24, who witnessed the murder from the back seat of his uncle's car at age 14, is suing for psychological damages. Helmuth's lawyer is mounting an insanity defence, and if the jury agrees with him, it may cast doubt on the murder conviction.

In the book, Harris lets the facts speak for themselves. He does not editorialize. He never slips into the first person, and never describes his own impressions of spending time with Buxbaum during some 15 visits to Kingston Penitentiary. But in an interview, the author admitted that he "felt a tremendous pity for him. Buxbaum is a very bizarre creature caught in the lights. You can't find the criminal in him. You can't find the malevolent face that stares out of his booking picture. In his presence, I felt I was seeing the shipwreck of someone who's lost an awful lot, the author of his own misfortune." Talking to Buxbaum, adds Harris, "was like interviewing someone with multiple personalities. Sometimes, it was like talking to a retired professor, rather than one of the most notorious killers of our time. His recollection of things was like a confabulation."

As children in wartime Europe, Helmuth and Hanna both lived through gruelling ordeals in resettlement camps. "They survived the camps," says Harris, "but they didn't survive the immigrant dream." Harris says he does not expect his book to win much sympathy for Helmuth. But he questions the attitude that says, "because he doesn't deserve public sympathy, he doesn't deserve due process."

Harris's book shows Helmuth Buxbaum throwing heaps of money at dealers, prostitutes, hit men, escape scams and lawyers—often without getting what he is looking for. As both patron and subject of *The Prodigal Husband*, he threw money at an author. Once again, it appears that Buxbaum did not get what he wanted. But perhaps he got what he deserved.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



Fetherling, his tale of a journalist in Saigon and Toronto is at times baffling

Big Brother's glare

A novelist ruminates on truth—and America

THE FILE ON ARTHUR MOSS
By Douglas Fetherling
(Lester, 210 pages, $22.95)

Douglas Fetherling's first novel opens with a warning: "This is not what happened. It's only the story of what happened." Slightly more than 200 pages later, the final sentence of the last chapter contains the word "exophthalmically." Physically, *The File on Arthur Moss* is small and slim, but a breezy little page-turner it is not. Fetherling, who is a contributing editor at *Saturday Night* magazine and the author of *Travels by Night: A Memoir of the Sixties*, has produced an edgy work of fiction that is by turns stunning and baffling.

Arthur Moss is an introverted Canadian foreign correspondent and the son of a prominent Toronto financier. The book begins in 1970, when he is returning to Saigon for a second stint of covering the Vietnam War—hardly his idea of a dream assignment. It is not the incessant carnage or personal danger he dreads, but the necessity of spending time with Americans. He cringes at their table manners and "trailer-park dialects." As well, he freely and contemptuously describes the United States as "a place where history has no consequences."

Through a spooky U.S. government flack, he meets the enigmatic Jemmie Rambouin, a Canadian who is making a documentary film in Vietnam. A few years later, when Arthur has returned to Toronto and Jemmie has become a famous actress, they commence a skittish romance via correspondence. In the course of the story, which spans the 1970s and is told by several narrators, mounting evidence suggests that Big Brother resides south of the 49th parallel and is watching Arthur Moss.

This scenario is bound to strike some readers as paranoid: it is arguable that the usual American reaction to Canadians is not wariness but indifference. In other regards, the book veers between incisive, complex beauty and pretentious opacity. The U.S.-born Fetherling, who came to Canada in 1967, is a gifted phrasemaker who has succeeded in creating vivid characters. His novel is also a fascinating meditation on the elusiveness of truth. But often he seems to be trying too hard to dazzle with intellectual bravura: the concluding chapter is as accessible as VCR programming instructions written in a secret code. In one of her letters to Arthur, Jemmie observes that "a lot of books by men are just elaborate games or model kits, sometimes brilliant, often dreary." She is a very perceptive character.

PAMELA YOUNG

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FILMS

Candid camera

Two quirky films reinvent the art of the home movie

CARO DIARIO (DEAR DIARY)
Directed by Nanni Moretti

He has been called the Italian Woody Allen, and there is indeed a resemblance. Nanni Moretti is a skinny, cerebral, middle-aged guy who writes, directs and stars in his own movies. He makes ingenious fun of his own neuroses, and balances broad comedy with metaphysical curiosity. But while Allen cuts a conservative figure with his formal style and moral baggage, Moretti displays a surreal lightness of touch and a subversive soul.


Michel in Louis the 19th: *a box-office sensation*

Caro Diario (Dear Diary), for which Moretti won the best director prize at the Cannes Film Festival in May, unfolds as a personal odyssey in three distinct chapters. In the first, the camera follows the director, who plays himself, as he zooms around on his Vespa motor scooter. In the second, he goes on a whimsical excursion through the Eolie Islands. The third episode takes a more serious turn as Moretti discovers he has an alarming illness.

The first chapter is the best. With fabulous music in the foreground, ranging from Latin funk to Leonard Cohen, the camera tracks Moretti on his Vespa while he delivers a hilarious narration about movies, architecture and his generation's surrender to materialism. It is summer, Rome's streets are strangely deserted, and there is nothing on at the movies except grim art-house fare such as *Henry: Portrait of a Serial Killer*. He suffers through it, then imagines torturing a critic, who raved about the film, by reading his review back to him.

As the camera scans Roman architecture, old and new, Moretti muses rhapsodically about houses. He confesses that he often invites himself into strangers' homes pretending he is scouting locations for a movie—"a film about a Trotskyist pastry chef during the 1950s, a musical." With deadpan sincerity, he stops people in the street to tell them that "*Flashdance* was the film that changed my life," and goes searching for its star, Jennifer Beals. She shows up, of course, in a quirky cameo.

Smoothly downshifting from humor to melancholy, Moretti makes a pilgrimage to the tawdry seaside spot where director Pier Paolo Pasolini was murdered in 1975. In a long, unbroken shot, the camera simply follows his Vespa to the sound of exquisitely sad piano music by Keith Jarrett. The sequence is sublime, and oddly mesmerizing. It could go on forever.

Moretti resumes his absurdism with the second chapter, which tends to drag. He goes island-hopping with Gerardo (Renato Carpentieri), a professorial friend who has spent 11 years studying James Joyce's *Ulysses*. Gerardo, who has not watched TV since the 1960s, becomes hooked on soap operas, and amid eruptions atop the volcanic island of Stromboli, he has Moretti yelling across the crater to get the latest soap-plot developments from American tourists.

In its final instalment, the diary adopts a more quotidian realism. It chronicles a gauntlet of medical exams that Moretti undergoes to treat a persistent skin disorder. Because he reveals the correct diagnosis at the start of the story, the merry-go-round of misguided prescriptions that he takes seems that much more absurd.

The trilogy's parts do not really add up. But the asymmetry only enhances its one-of-a-kind charm. Dancing between poetry and farce, *Caro Diario* is boldly unconventional yet broadly entertaining, a film that reinvents the art of the home movie.

LOUIS THE 19TH: KING OF THE AIRWAVES
Directed by Michel Poulette

A satirical comedy from Quebec, *Louis the 19th* is a different kind of home movie. It, too, has a camera following one man wherever he goes, but it is based on a zany premise. A TV cable channel holds a "Big Star" contest in which the winner will become the first person ever to spend three months on live television, 24 hours a day. Assuming that mediocrity is the key to viewer identification, the station's programming boss chooses the least charismatic of all the candidates, a nerdy TV salesman named Louis (Martin Drainville), to become the all-consuming star of Channel 19. With his innocuous, bumbling personality under a never-extinguished spotlight, Louis becomes a media darling, an international celebrity. But as he gains in stature and confidence, falling for a young actress named Julie (Agathe de la Fontaine), he becomes trapped by fame.

A likable fable, *Louis the 19th* was nominated for three awards at this week's Genies, including best picture. In addition, director Michel Poulette was selected for the Claude Jutra Award for best new director. And the movie took the Golden Reel award for the highest-grossing Canadian movie of the year, ending in September—a mark it reached even before opening last week in English-speaking Canada, with a box-office take of $1.8 million in Quebec alone.

The film's appeal is not hard to fathom. The premise is a postmodern send-up of reality television and Warholian celebrity—while satirizing the café intellectuals who analyze the phenomenon in such highfalutin terms. Much of the comedy relies on the considerable talents of its Chaplinesque star. Drainville, who is wonderfully agile and expressive as the self-effacing naif who loses his innocence on camera. And Quebec comedy star Dominique Michel is delightfully camp as Louis's flamboyant mother, who muscles her way into the limelight.

The story unfolds as a soap opera. As Louis has a falling-out with his mother or an intimate moment with Julie, the TV viewers watch, and we watch over their shoulders. Despite those layers, *Louis the 19th* is still pretty thin fare, a cartoonish farce with a sweet streak of romance. But it sure beats television.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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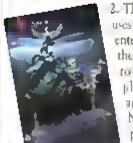
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COLUMN



Throwing the book at Mulroney

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM



ROY PETERSON

As the last remaining journalist in Canada to have read Stevie Cameron's evisceration of Brian Mulroney, one has to admit something. She has done quite a job.

There are errors, to be sure, in *On the Take: Crime, Corruption and Greed in the Mulroney Years*—quite the most audacious title of the year. (The libel lawyers obviously spent nervous months on this tome, I'd love to know how much time they spent sweating over the title.)

Errors, as there will always be in such an ambitious, fact-filled effort stretching over 512 pages that boggle with details and dollar figures and names. Her accounts of this scribbler, it must be reported, at certain sumptuous 24 Sussex Drive banquets are perfectly accurate. I shall not sue.

But, as such as columnist Richard Gwyn and historian Michael Bliss have recorded, what is most devastating is the *tone* of the whole nine-year reign. She has too much detail, too many facts, too much inside information, too many police documents, too much evidence to ignore. The sleaze creeps out, oozes out, page after page, chapter after chapter. The tone rings true.

With this book, Stevie Cameron just possibly surpasses John Sawatsky as the finest investigative reporter in the land. She's a very good reporter and she exudes passion—a palpable hatred for Mulroney and the Tories. (In this, she is not 100 per cent honest; in at least three passages, she disguises the fact that an aggrieved high civil servant who was forced out is her husband.)

Given that, she destroys the man, and his wife. And his closest associates. Among other things, she proves that a man most Canadians have never heard of—Guy Charbonneau, then-Speaker of the Senate and chief Quebec bagman—was the second most powerful man in the Conservative government.

In scenes right out of *Pulp Fiction*, the most arresting film appearing this year, she details the "suicides" of three major Conservative figures, one of whom was found naked in a motel with 17 stabs wounds to the heart, another who was a powerful Tory advertising dispenser whose dead body was found with hunting gear: he was not a hunter, disliked hunting.

Cameron, her hatred of the Mulroneyites so obvious, clearly believes in the conspiracy theory of life. There are nudge-nudge, wink-wink references to mysterious Swiss bank accounts and a little too much of the James Bond obsessions.

But, aided by two research associates, she has got simply too much stuff to be dismissed. I know someone who was close to the Mulroney family who is astounded by what the book reveals. I know a high Tory who was in Ottawa and was close to the throne who now wonders if he was blind.

My friend Dalton Camp has set a journalistic *Guinness Book of Records* mark by writing two columns about this book while confessing that he has never read it and has no intention of ever doing so. He should.

The book's weakness is its strength. There are so many details of shady meetings, so much documentation of RCMP stings, so many dollar figures about lobbyists' contracts, that the eyes glaze over. You've got to be brave to get through the 512 pages. But it's worth it. It can't all be wrong, Dalton. The mob involvement in Montreal is laid out. In Newfoundland, millionaire Craig Dobbin, who owns the largest helicopter outfit in the world, a Mulroney pal, ends up owning 40 per cent of the Summerside military base in Prince Edward Island junked by the Tories. Brian and pals force through a $100-million loan to the Westray Mine in Nova Scotia—despite protests from Ottawa bureaucrats about safety suspicions—and 26 miners die. The spending of Mila, who owns a black belt in shopping, cannot be believed.

What is interesting is some of the sources from Cameron's obviously "inside" information. We know that she got a lot of it from Mila's interior decorator, one Giovanni Mowinkel, who was unveiled several years ago by then *Globe and Mail* reporter Stevie after he had to threaten to sue the Mulroneys for $51,000 in disputed payments.

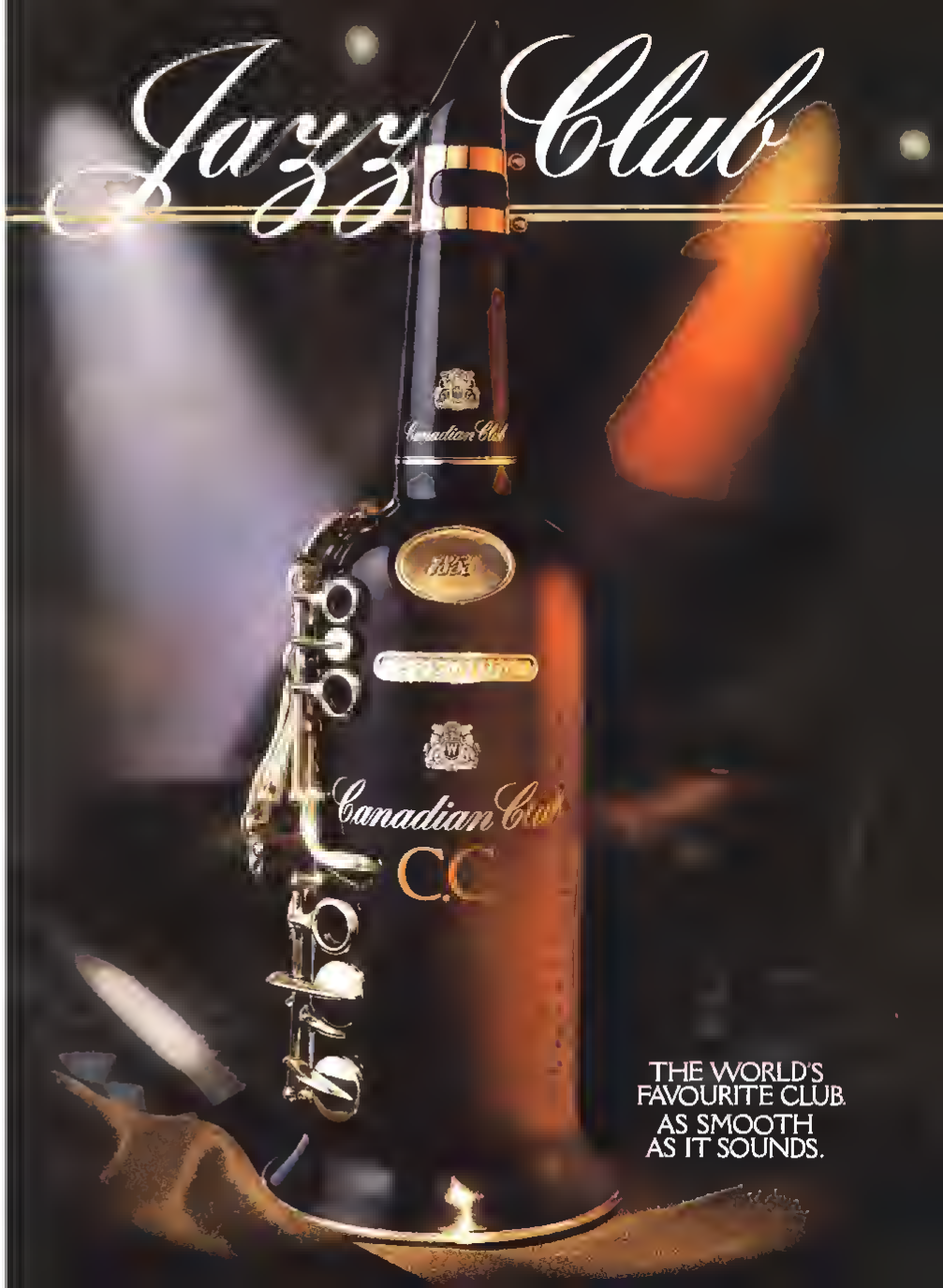
It's clear from this blockbuster that she got a lot of delicious dirt from François Martin, who was the 24 Sussex Drive chef for four years and has spilled the beans (Québécois of course) into the eager tape recorder of the author.

Even more revealing that Old Velcro Lips himself, Erik Nielsen, who after all was Mulroney's deputy prime minister, has decided to tell all and rat on his boss.

As every political foe of Mulroney knew, and every ally, he fashioned his remarkable 1984 majority mandate by larding the thin Conservative base in Quebec with every borderline separatist and remnant of the old Union Nationale gang he could find. To recruit candidates to fill out his slate, he accepted any muffler salesman he could spy.

The Cameron book, as sad as it is true, is filled with the Quebec scandals, the cabinet resignations, the criminal charges—almost all traced to the inexperienced and naive and venal troupe from that province who followed the boy from Baie-Comeau to Ottawa.

There's a very reassuring fact of democracy that has nothing to do with Stevie Cameron. The voters recognized all that she reveals—long before her book came out.



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